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With P. S. Pacciani's

best survey and report





*John Worthington, Esq.,  
Consul of the U. S., in Malta  
with best regards  
from A. A. Caruana*

# REPORT

ON THE

## PHŒNICIAN AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

IN THE

GROUP OF THE ISLANDS OF MALTA,

BY

A. A. CARUANA, D.D.,

*Librarian of the Public Library, Malta.*

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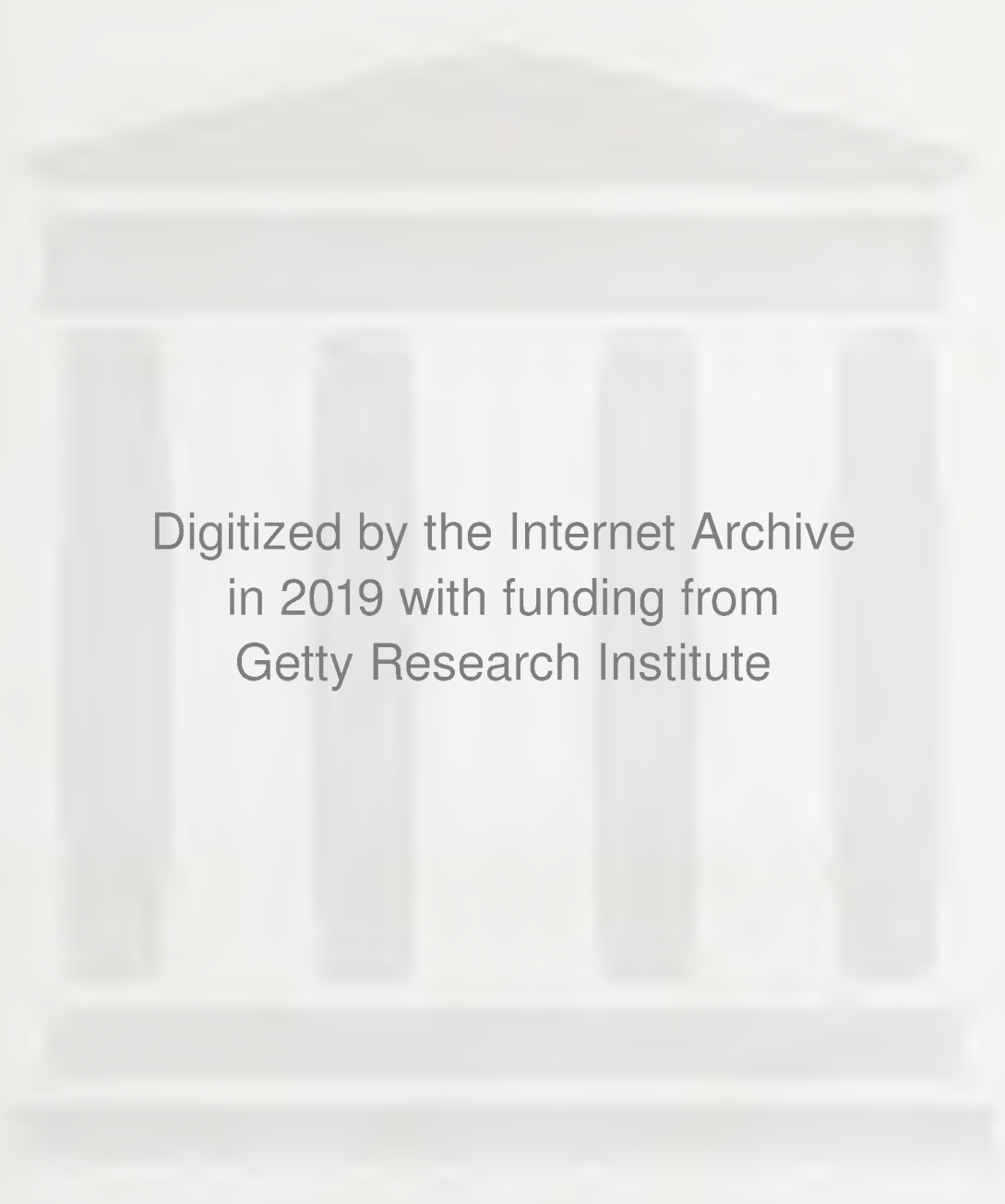
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Cistern Wall of the Sigaretia. From a drawing by Lt. Russell  
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PUBLIC LIBRARY, MALTA,

30th August, 1881.

Sir,

In obedience to the directions of His Excellency the Governor, conveyed to me by the Chief Secretary's Minute on the despatch No. 219, dated 18th April last, from the Right Honourable the Earl of Kimberley, stating: "that the attention of the Secretary of State for the Colonies has been drawn by Mr. Gregory, M.P., to the alleged neglect of certain Ancient Monuments in Malta, and that frequent communications have reached the Colonial Office from some of the most eminent European Scholars as to the great importance alike of the Phœnician and the Roman Remains in Malta and its dependencies;" I have the honour to transmit herewith, to be laid before His Excellency, the accompanying Report upon the state of the Phœnician and Roman Antiquities in these islands, together with the suggestions I am able to offer for their better preservation.

I have visited many of the Monuments referred to in the Despatch above quoted, and the Report I transmit is, chiefly, the result of my personal inspection.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your most Obedient Servant,

A. A. CARUANA,

*Librarian.*

To

The Honourable

F. P. Hoare, Esq.

Acting Chief Secretary to Government,

&c.,

&c.

&c.





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PLAN  
OF THE  
ISLANDS  
OF  
MALTA AND GOZO

Approved by the Admiralty, 1854.  
By the Hon. Secy. of State for the Colonies.  
By the Hon. Secy. of State for the War.  
By the Hon. Secy. of State for the Navy.  
By the Hon. Secy. of State for the Home Affairs.

S E A



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## PHŒNICIAN AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES in Malta and Gozo.

Between the primitive Phœnician period and the Roman occupation, an early Greek colony settled in the islands of Malta, contemporarily with the colonies led from Chalcis (Egripo in the island of Negropont) by the Athenian Theocles and other Greek emigrants in Sicily, by whom, as Thucydides, book IV, ch. III, relates, were founded Leontium, Catana, Taurominium, Zancle (Messina), &c., and with those led by Archias from Corinth by whom Syracuse was erected. Subsequently, the Carthaginians held these islands up to the beginning of the second Punic war.

I understand the Phœnician and Roman antiquities as the limit of the survey called for by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, although it would seem to me, that it ought to comprehend the other monuments of Malta and Gozo between these two periods.

2. The group of the islands of Malta, lying in the Lybian sea on the sinuous line bordering Europe to the South, consists of two chief islands, Malta and Gozo, with the minor island of Comino, nearly midway between the two, which from the nature and superposition of its strata shows evidently to be the crest of the intervening land, submerged into the sea. On the two opposite shores of the two main islands traces of wheels and forrows, showing the passage of carts, are still apparent, even at some distance on the bottom of the Flieghi (Channels) separating the three islands.



The direction of the longer axis of the whole group is S.E.  N.W., which, with the two intervening channels, is 29 miles in length.

Latitude of Valletta, chief town of Malta,  $35^{\circ} 53' 55''$  North; longitude, East of Greenwich,  $14^{\circ} 30' 45''$ .

Latitude of North West point of Gozo,  $36^{\circ} 3' 45''$  North; longitude, East of Greenwich,  $14^{\circ} 8'$ .

According to the survey of Lieut. Worsely, R.E., in 1824, the length of Malta is 17·5 miles; the breadth, 8·33; the circuit, 86; the area, 95 square miles.

The length of Gozo is 9 miles; the breadth, 4·5; the circuit, 23·5; the area, 20 square miles.

The length of Comino is 1·12 miles; the breadth, 1; the circuit, 6·75; the area, 1 square mile.

The least distance separating the two main islands, from the most western part of Malta, is 2·9 miles. Height, in the two main islands nearly the same, 700 feet above the level of the sea, with a slight dip towards the N.E. and E.N.E.

3. Scilax, in B.C. about 350, states that the three islands were inhabited by Carthaginians "*Haud procul a Mercurii promontorio insulæ tres sunt parvæ, Melita, Gaulos, Lampas, a Carthaginensibus habitatæ*," although some by Lampas understand Lampedousa. Diodorus writes, that the three islands were previously inhabited by the Phœnicians. Some Scholars by the *Cosyra* of Ovid and Pliny, and the *Hephæstia* of old Geographers, understand Comino, called Lampas by Scilax. Gozo is called *Glaucôn* by Ptolemy. We are informed by the old Nubian Geographer, that after the conquest of these islands by the Arabs, in 870, they were respectively named Malta, Ghaudosh, and Kemmuna, which denominations they retain still by the natives.

Ptolemy mentions the existence of a Chersonesus in the island of Malta. Some of our ancient writers understood by it the peninsula on which Senglea is erected. But the bearing of the Maltese Chersonesus pointed out by Ptolemy is to the

West; consequently, it cannot be but the western extremity in which are the lands of Kammieh, Tafflia, tal-Bakrat, l-Ahrash, el Marfa, &c. joined with the Melleha hill by a low land isthmus, estimated by Commendatore Abela about 657 yards wide, having Melleha bay on the North and Rdum Shacca on the South.

4. The islands of Malta have no claim upon a prehistoric existence of man. In the excavations undertaken in the last 20 years, no fossiliferous caverns containing human bones, held at present as characterizing the ages of prehistoric man, have been found; nor are any records preserved in the history of these islands of any discoveries of rude or polished stone tools, referring to those two stone ages.

5. Moreover, we have no monuments belonging to an historical period previous to the Phœnicians, though all the old historians and geographers, amongst whom Cluverius, Busching, Abela, D'Anville, and Malte-Brun, agree in admitting the aboriginal existence of the Pheacians, a Cyclopiæ race, in Iperia, by which designation they recognize the old name of the island of Malta.

From one or two passages in the VI and VII books of the Odyssey, it is presumed that this race under Nausithous, son of Neptune and Periboea daughter of Eurimedon, was driven away to Corfu by the depredations of the Cyclops of Sicily, or by the Phœnicians.

Commendatore Abela, who wrote his "Malta Illustrata" in 1647, and others, ground their opinion about the existence of this race of giants, on the discovery of some huge ribs and bones, and large teeth, found in several localities, and support it by the existence of the megalithic monuments in Malta (Abela, book II, not. I).

One of these giants' teeth, found at Gozo in 1658, was presented by Grand Master De Redin to Pope Alexander VII; and Canon Agius de Soldanis, "Gozo Antico e Moderno," ch. IV,

records that the skeleton of a giant (!) was discovered in excavating the foundations of Fort Manoel, Malta, at the time of Grand Master Manoel de Vilhena, about 1725.

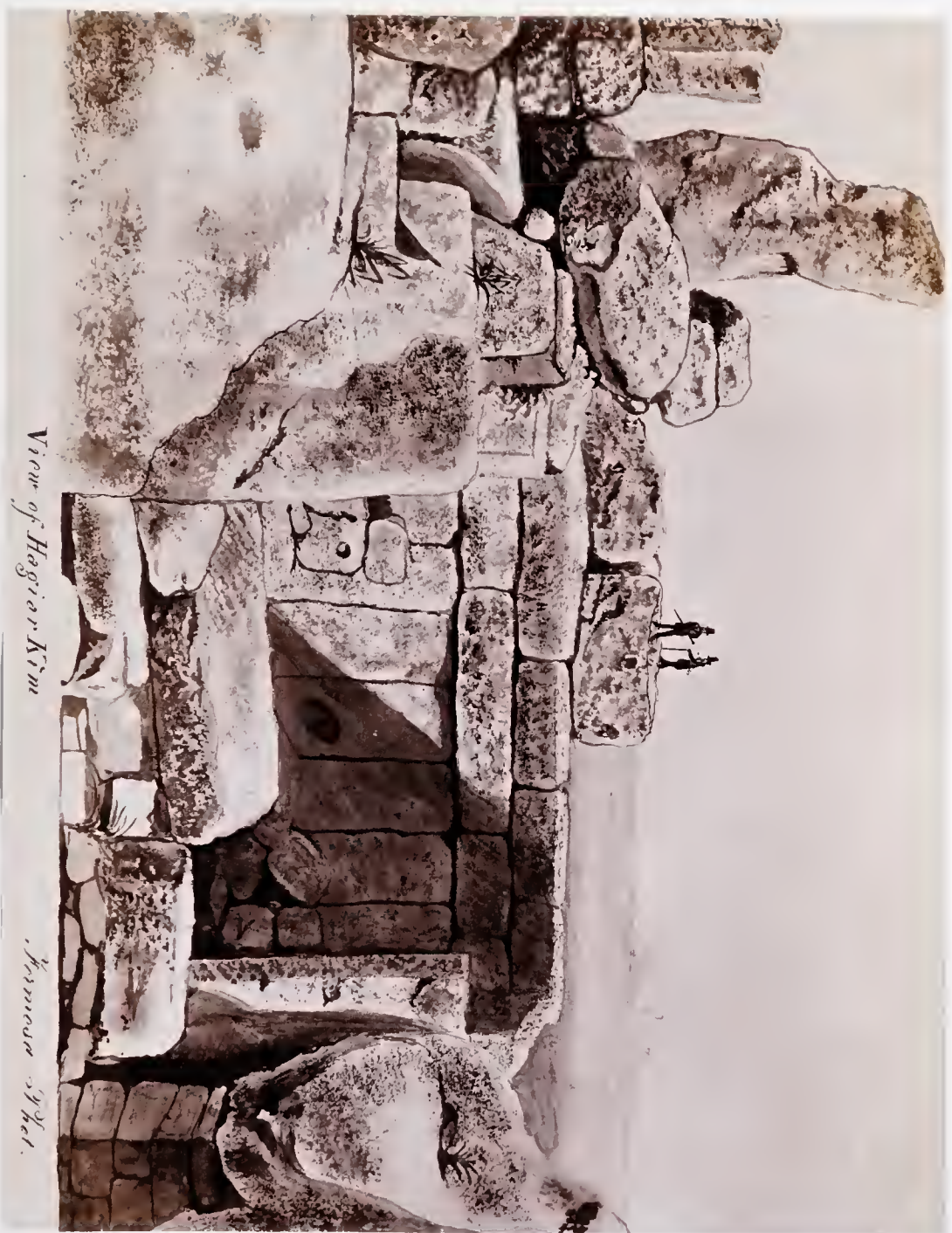
Juvenal, Sat. XV, ridicules the story of the several races of giants. Indeed, Malta would have been too small a Brobdingnag for such a race of Antheuses and Orions. None of the ribs and bones referred to, which it would be the domain of Palæontology to characterize, or any drawings of them, are preserved. The accurate drawing of one of the teeth, given by Abela, tab. XII, "Malta Illustrata," shows that it was of a fossil species of hypopotamus of which lately many have been discovered by Captain Spratt, Dr. Adams, and myself, together with large quantities of bones of elephants &c., washed down, at the time when Malta formed part of the African continent, into the natural fissures of these islands. Moreover, the epoch of megalithic monuments, whether Keltic or Phœnician, is pretty well known, and an important bilingual inscription, Phœnician and Greek, found on one of our monuments, leaves no doubt about their Phœnician origin. Nor is there any reason why our megalithic monuments should have been built by a more colossal race, than the race which constructed and raised the pyramids, obelisks, and other like monuments, in old Memphis and Thebes.

There remain one or two rhapsodical passages, still much to be controverted, in favour of this mythical Pheacian race, with which I am unconcerned in this Report.

6. The circumstances of the earliest Phœnician settlement, probably from Tyre, in these islands are connected with their expulsion from the land of Canaan by Joshua; consequently, its date, computed on the chronology of Clinton and Champollion, may be fixed about 1500 B.C.

The Phœnicians established a monarchical form of Government in these islands, coining their own Phœnico-Maltese and Gozo currency; and one of their earliest Reguli was Battus, praised by Ovid, Fast III, for his hospitality to Anna, expelled





*View of Hagia Kiri*

*Karmouk 29th.*



by Hiarbas from Carthage, after the death of Didon her sister.

A Greek colony, probably a branch of the colony of Syracuse, about 700 B.C., settled in the central and elevated sites of these islands. During the same period, the Phœnicians, a commercial race, lived on the sea shores, and up to A.D. 58 they still spoke a Phœnician language or dialect, as we gather from the XXVIII ch. of the Acts of the Apostles, that the seafaring population of Malta spoke neither Greek nor Latin at that epoch. Several Maltese coins with Phœnician types and Greek legend prove that the two races lived peacefully together in Malta.

The Government of these islands under the Greeks was aristo-democratic, formed of the Senate, and a popular representation, and it was administered by a Hierotite and two Archons.

Up to 216 B.C., we find the Carthaginians holding sway over these islands. Masters of Sicily, the Carthaginians snatched the islands of Malta by force from the Greeks, probably, according to Heeren, in B.C. 480, and occupied them as conquerors. It is unknown what kind of rule these islands were subject to, under the Carthaginians; but from the welcome given to the Romans and the consequent good treatment of the natives by them, it appears that the Carthaginians, though originating from the same Phœnician parent-stock, were hated by the natives.

In 216 B.C., took place the conquest of these islands by the Romans, led by the Consul Titus Sempronius Gracchus. The Carthaginian garrison, about 2000 men, under the command of Hamilcar son of Giscon, were made prisoners of war.

L' Abbé Fourmont "Acad. des Inscrip." tom. IX, pag. 167, admits of an early settlement in Malta from Lydia, the fabled original land of the Etruscans, Pl. 5, 29, 30, by whom, he asserts, Malta was called *Lyda*. This absurd opinion is based on an incorrect reading of the penultimate word, in the Inscription *Melitensis prima*, by Fourmont. Neither Herodotus, nor Thucydides, nor Diodorus, in the history of the Lydian migrations led by Tyrrhenus, mention the island of Malta.



## 6 PHŒNICIAN AND ROMAN ANTIQUITIES

Other settlements of Volaterrans and Tyrrhenians migrating from Etruria to Malta, during the Phœnician and Greek periods, are mentioned by Comm. Abela, Campomanes, l' Abbé Navarro, and Marquis Barbaro, deceived by the apocryphal publication styled "*Hetruscarum Antiquitatum fragmenta*" by Curzio Inghirami in Florence 1636, and Francfort 1637, in which it is clearly stated that a colony from Volaterræ settled in Malta. The imposture of Inghirami, who asserted that these fragments containing the history and religious rites of the Etrurians were discovered by him at the foot of Mount Scarnello, was detected and proved by Allacci, Simone, and Fabricio. *Vide* Bres book IV, ch. V.

Hence, we may broadly extend the first part of the survey of the Antiquities of Malta from 1500 to 216 B.C. A further limit would drag us, nearly, to the epoch of Osymandias of Egypt, which is beyond our scope.

For the sake of perspicuity, I shall report on the numerous Maltese Antiquities in separate classes.

### PHŒNICIAN ANTIQUITIES.

#### CLASS I.

##### **Rough stone Monuments.**

7. Their construction is megalithic: they are formed of several courses of sandstone, the stones in the lower courses measuring 9, 10, 15, and 20 feet, in length, roughly hewn with metallic tools; regularly placed and bonded with smaller stones, set alternately with their longer dimensions horizontally along the line of the circuit and vertically across its thickness, for the sake of solidity. Besides this compact construction, the Maltese Phœnician monuments recording the mundane egg are invariably egg-shaped, which makes them essentially different from the circular Keltic monuments formed of isolated vertical monoliths,

bilithons, trilithons, cycloliths, &c. However, like the Druidic monuments, they abound with erect stones, averaging from 12 to 20 feet in height, pierced through like those of Castle Dermot, Ireland, and Rosemoadress, Cornwall.

The best preserved are those intended for worship (*loci consecrati*), of which I have inspected five, more or less cleared of their encumbrances. They are all *sub dio*, the Phœnician worship being represented by the sun and planets; and their religion being a deification of the powers of nature, their temples record essentially the *Mundane Egg*.

#### *The Gigantia Monument — Gozo.*

8. The *Gigantia*, or giants' tower, is in the plain of the Shghara hill, Gozo, looking to the East. It is supposed to have been a temple dedicated to Astarte, the Phœnician Venus.

Up to 1787, when Hoüel, who gave a drawing of it in the IV vol. pl. CCL of "Voyage Pittoresq." saw this monument, the exterior *enceinte* and one of the apses were apparent. The first attempts to uncover it were made in 1827 by Colonel Otto Beyer, in charge of the island of Gozo, and M. Mazzara published in Paris the first plan and description of it, under the title of an "Antidiluvian Temple of Giants." Admiral Smyth published some engravings of the same monument in 1827, vol. XXII of the "Archæologia." Later on, Mr. Clemente Busuttil drew its plan and two longitudinal sections, found very accurate by the learned Alberto della Marmora, who inspected and minutely described this monument in 1834, and had two transverse sections prepared by M. Palaggi for the *Nouvelles Annales publiée par la section française de l'Institut archeologique*. The drawings of Busuttil have been reproduced by Guilhaud in the "Monumens Anciens et Modernes."

This monument is bounded on the West by an elliptical megalithic wall, measuring over 490 feet, containing two pair of sacred areas in *juxta position*, without any communication from one

pair to another, and with only one outside entrance to each pair on the longer axis of the exterior elliptical wall.

The areas forming each pair are egg-shaped, each area ending at both extremities with a hemicycle, or apse. From one area to the other there is a central passage, which together with the middle portions of the two areas forms a central nave, finishing with a conical apse opposite to the main entrance.

The dimensions of the left hand pair of areas are : anterior area, length, from the height of the apses, 54 ft. 6 in. by 20 ft.; posterior area, length, from the height of the apses, 77 ft. 6 in. by 20 ft. 6 in.; central nave, from the middle of main entrance to the height of the central apse, about 48 ft.

Right hand pair: anterior area, length, from the height of the apses, 56 ft. 6 in. by 21 ft.; posterior area, length 43 ft. by 12 ft.; length of central nave, about 45 ft.

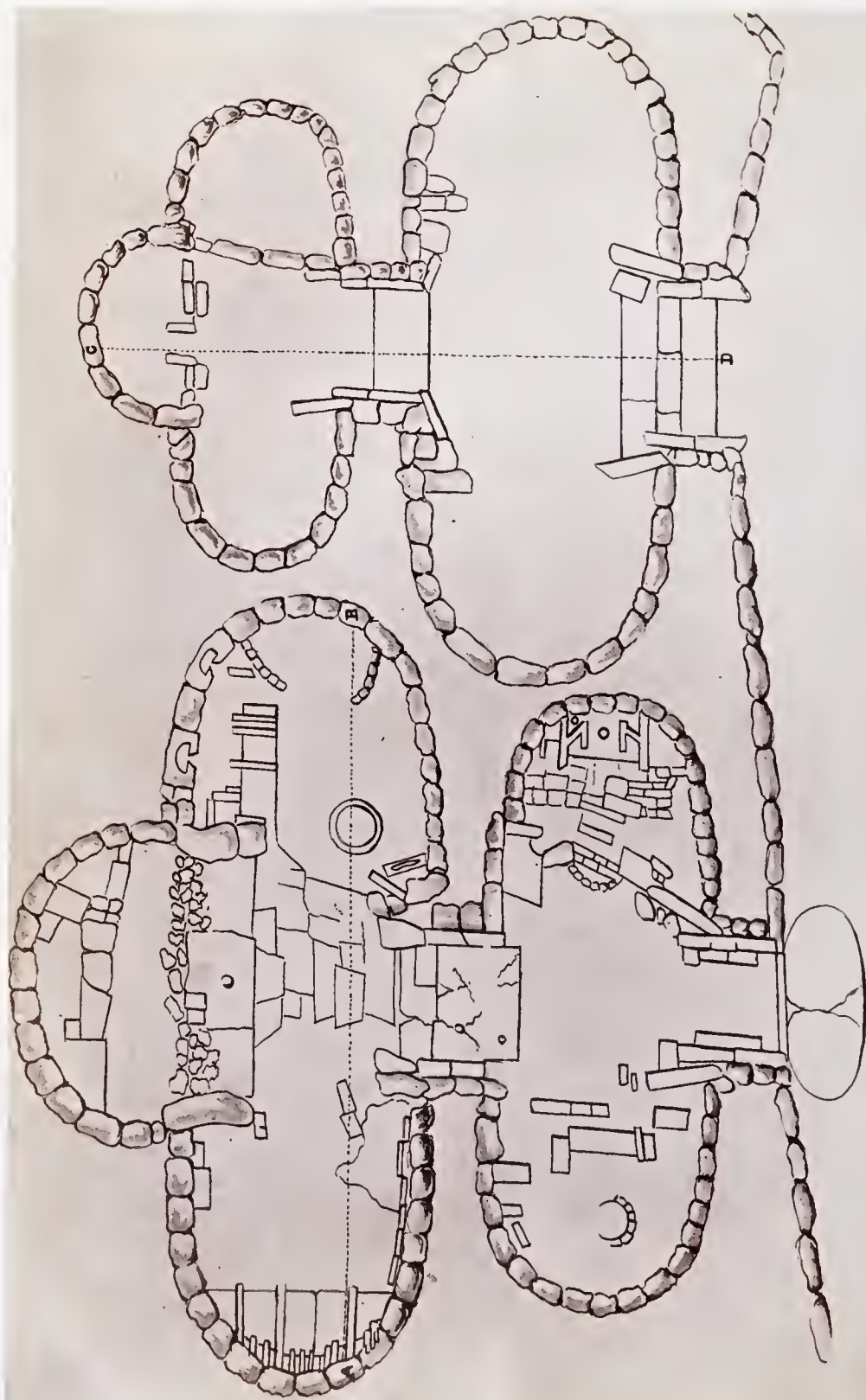
9. Comparing the result of my inspection, on the 7th May, with the accurate drawings of Busuttil and Palaggi, and the description of La Marmora who saw this monument in January 1834, I have to report :

1st. The large erect stone slabs, flanking the entrances to the two temples, the inner slabs with circular holes on the interior border, are still *in situ* ; the large elliptic threshold, in the entrance of the large temple, is wanting ;

2nd. The *aditus* to the sanctuary on the right hand of the anterior area of the left hand temple, and its arrangement as seen by La Marmora, are all pulled down ; the two steps and the *sacred step*, leading to the *ædícula*, are no longer seen ; the two monoliths flanking the niches by the *ædícula* exteriorly, as sectioned by Busuttil and Palaggi, are lying on the ground, as also the *sacred cone* with an egg-shaped base. The two stone heads, found near these two niches, are preserved in the Gozo Library, as is also another female figure bust discovered after the visit of La Marmora. The monolith, 7 ft. 8 in. high, with a lozenge-shaped hole, through which the oracles were probably





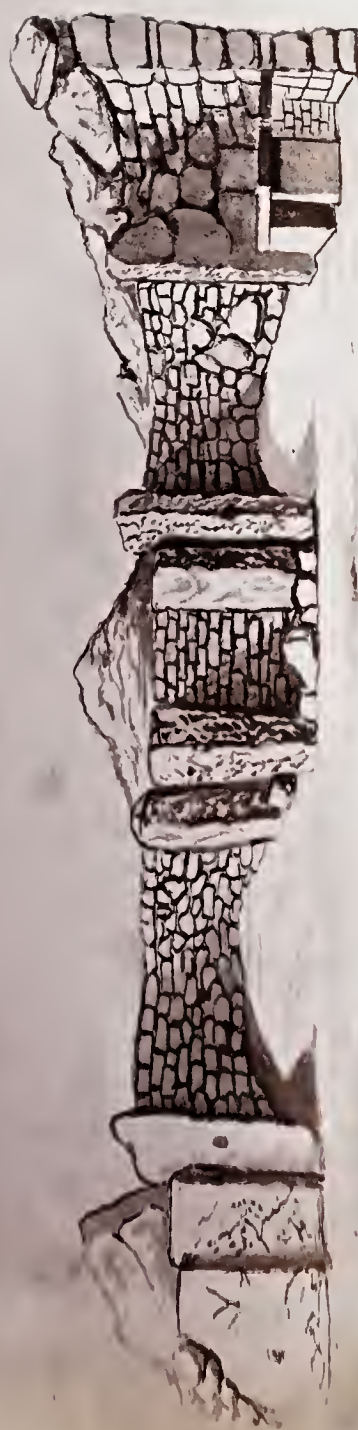


*Plan of the Gigantia. by Sa. Harwood*

FORMOSA. PHOTO



*Section A.B. by Palagge.*



*Section C.D. by Col. Busuttil. Yarmosa Phot.*





issued, is still on the right of the *ædicula*, as are also the two large cubic stones with scrolls and spirals on their surface towards the central area, which probably served as tables for the oblations to the Goddess of Nature ;

3rd. I have recognized some of the hewn stones as belonging to a cubic altar on the left hand apse, opposite to the sanctuary, seen by La Marmora and Busuttil ; the round hole on the ground by the side of this altar, which probably served as a basin, is filled with earth and stones ;

4th. The large monoliths, flanking the passage from the anterior to the posterior area, are still seen as drawn by Busuttil ;

5th. The arrangement of the right hemicycle of the posterior area, which is the reverse of that in the anterior area ; the table for offerings with the altar opposite to the sanctuary in the left hemicycle ; and the arrangement in the central apse as drawn by Busuttil and described by La Marmora, have been entirely disturbed. I could not make out the stone on which a serpent was engraved ;

6th. From the two areas of the smaller temple, which is believed to have served for the sacrifice of victims, all arrangement has disappeared, and they are filled with small stones fallen from the intervals between the large ones, in consequence of which the decay of this interesting monument is inevitable.

10. Hoüel, in 1787, had mistaken the only then apparent apse for a circle, which he, as Fergusson remarks, has incorrectly represented with a dolmen in the centre (vol. IV, pl. CCLI, fig. B). But the vestiges of another circle drawn by Hoüel, pl. CCLI, fig. A, at a distance of 350 yards to the East of the *Gigantia*, with an entrance flanked by two tall monoliths, are still seen.

#### *The Hagiar Kim Monument — Malta.*

11. The *Hagiar Kim* monument, or *Stones of Veneration*, is in the extreme limit of Casal Krendi to the East, about  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles

from Valletta, Malta. It was cleared from rubbish in 1839, during the administration of Sir H. Bouverie. Unfortunately, the excavations were not directed by a duly intelligent superintendence, and none of the local circumstances of the objects discovered were taken account of.

The first description of these ruins was published by Mr. J. G. Vance, the Superintendent of the excavations, together with a plan by Lieut. Foulis in the vol. XXIX, pag. 227, of the "Archæologia." A second plan, after a recent survey by the Royal Engineers and photographs taken by Corporal Mortimer, was published by Mr. Furse in the Norwich volume of the "International Prehistoric Congress," 1868, and reproduced *talè quale* by Waring in his "Atlas of stone monuments of remote ages," 1870.

The *enceinte* of the main body of *Hagiar K'im* is elliptical, of the same megalithic construction as the *Gigantia*, on the same plan and with nearly the same interior arrangement, having, however, only one pair of sacred areas and some inner recesses which the *Gigantia* has not. Originally, it must have had only one entrance, that looking to the East. But it is evident, that subsequently the central apse of the posterior area, opposite to the entrance, was converted into a second doorway, as an extension was added to the monument on the West, for which it was necessary to alter, likewise, the left hand hemicycle of the posterior area into a passage to another large elliptical area, about 60 feet in diameter, from the sides of which shoot out four open-fan-like oval cells, the whole covering a conoid base about 90 feet in diameter, which with the three other hemicycles in the two principal areas represent clearly seven apses.

Seven statuettes of sandstone, acephalous, grossly fat, two of them seated and enveloped in a gown covered with dotted ornaments, the others naked, squatted on oval bases, were found in these ruins. They are preserved in the collection of the Library, together with an altar 2 ft. 5 in. high, and 1 ft. 6 in. wide, and the *sacred slab* pitted all over to represent the starry

heavens, and exhibiting, in high relief, two raising spirals with a half-egg, symbolizing the *Universe*, all found in the same ruins.

At a short distance, to the North and to the South of this group, are the remains of other chambers, probably in connection with the main one.

12. The learned Dr. Vassallo, late Librarian, was the first to opine, that this temple was dedicated to the seven brothers *Kabiri*, the *Dii Potentes* of the Latins, and the place near *Hagiar Kîm*, at present uninhabited, is still known by its old denomination of *Hall-Kbir*.

Tertullian, who was a Carthaginian, gives us the meaning of the Phœnician word *Kabiri*, that is to say *the Mighty ones*, which signification the word still retains in our present vernacular, *i.e.*, *Kbir* in Maltese means *Great, Powerful*.

The *Kabiri* were the Argonauts of the Phœnicians, who, by order of Taaut (Mercury Trismegistus), wrote his Theology for the Egyptians and Phœnicians, and were consequently deified after death, and represented *forma nimirum et species ridicula*, as we learn from Herodotus, Strabo, and Eusebius, and as the seven statuettes discovered in the ruins of *Hagiar Kîm* really are.

Bishop Horsley, "Tracts" page 44, Dr. Cudworth, "Intell. System" page 451, Mr. Cooke, "Inquiry into the Patriarchal and Druidical Religion," and Dr. Smith, contend that the number of the *Kabiri* was three and not seven. The difference of opinion about the number of the *Kabirians* may be, in part, accounted for by the polyonymy of those Gods.

I think, very little doubt can be entertained about their number, and the consecration of the Maltese *Kabirian* temple. In support of this, I should quote the genealogical table of the *Kabiri*, detailed in a fragment of the "Phœnician History" of Sanchoniatho, preserved by Eusebius in the "Præp. Evang." book I, ch. 10. Sanchoniatho, we are told by Porphyrius, gathered his information from the records of the Phœnician temples and archives of their towns; and Bochart, "Canaan" pars posterior, book II, ch. XVII,



shows to evidence the use he made in his genealogies of the names of Saddai, Kabir, El, Elohim, attributed to God in the Holy Writ. The book of Sanchoniatho was translated into Greek by Philo Byblius in the time of Hadrian.

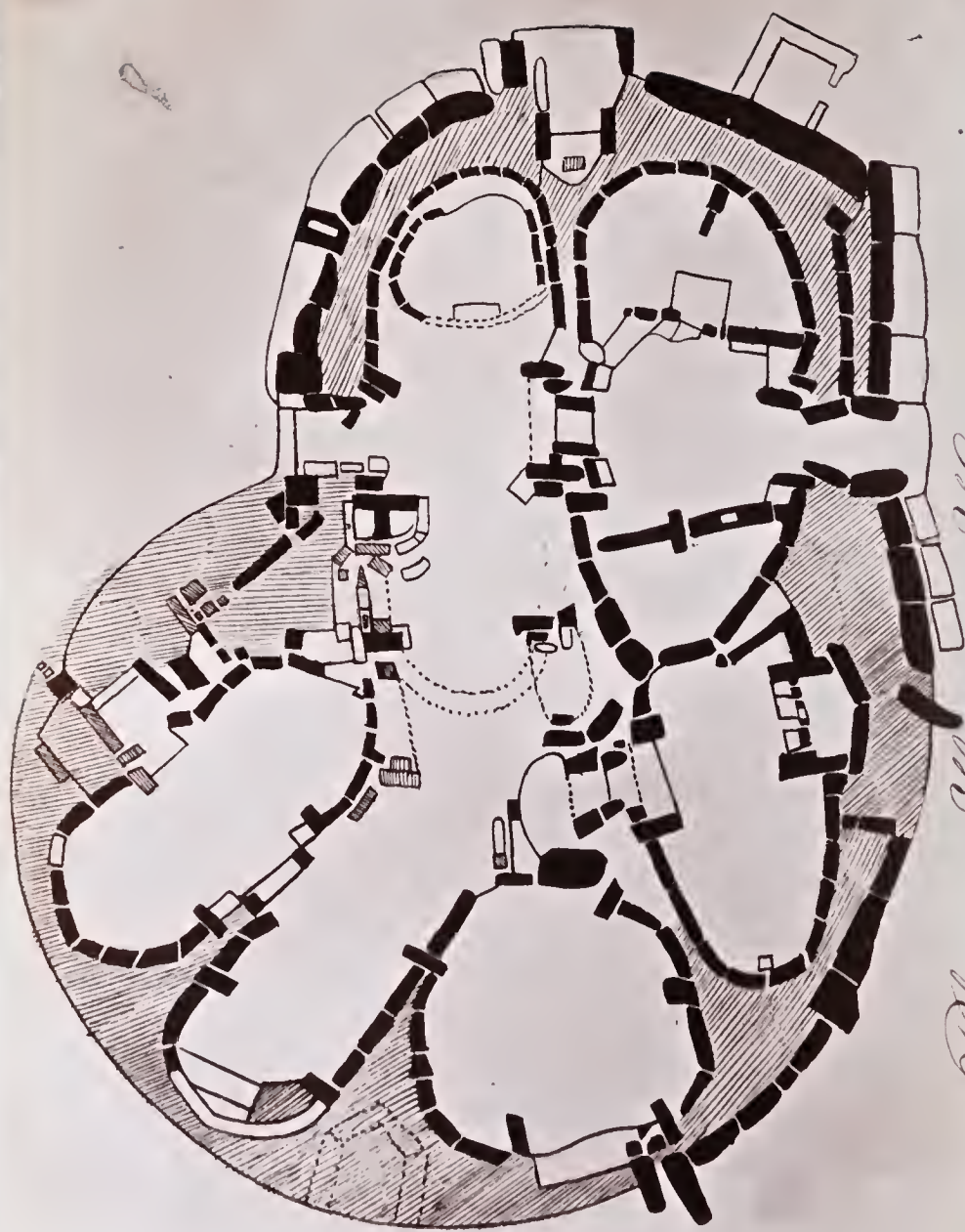
In the narrative of Sanchoniatho, the Kabirians are made the descendants of Protogonus and Eon his wife, who first gathered fruit from the trees, through Genus their first offspring. This line of Protogonus, which up to Technites reckons eight generations, was successfully identified by Bp. Cumberland and Stanley Faber with the Biblical line of Cain, reckoning as many patriarchs up to Tubal-Cain, who was the last link of the line of Cain ended by the flood. Technites is then the representative of Tubal-Cain, both names describing the same personage "an artizan."

The Phœnician Chronicler reckons, further, Agruerus, Amynus, Sydek, the seven Kabiri or Titans, and the sons of the Kabiri, as the 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th, descents of Protogonus, which have been adjusted by Bp. Cumberland to Lamech and Jabal of the Cain-line, and to Shem, the children and grand-children of Shem, through the Seth line. This position, however, is justly contradicted by Stanley Faber, as a principal link, that of Noah, is omitted in it. Indeed, if the eighth generation of Protogonus in the line of Genus (Cain) was the last link of that line ended by the flood, the 9th descent of Protogonus in the progressive reckoning of Sanchoniatho without any distinction of lines, must be the one surviving to the flood. Hence, Agruerus "the great god and husbandman of the Phœnicians" is the Noah of the Bible, and Amynus, his son Ham, the Jupiter Ammonius of the Latins.

With regard to the 11th generation, that of Sydek, some inaccuracies must be admitted in the Kabirian genealogy. Sanchoniatho, in order to continue his progressive reckoning of the descents of Protogonus, had to supply this genealogy with generations from the line of Seth, surviving to the flood. In his direct line, that of Seth, Noah was also the 10th link before the flood, and the 1st link of the new offspring of mankind. Then, Noah







*Plan of Hoagiar, Formosa*

G. L. FORMOSA. PHOTO



*Inside of Haggia Kim*

FORMOSA. PHOT





may be equally taken for the 11th generation of Sanchoniatho, that of Sydek, which is not a proper name, but a princely title meaning still "Your Lord" in the Maltese language. Indeed, as Noah and his children built the Ark, wherein entered his wife, his three sons, and the three wives of his sons, seven in all besides himself; so we are told that Sydek with his *seven* children, the Kabiri, built the first ship on which they trusted themselves. The mysteries of the Kabiri are thus confounded with the Arkite worship, and the Titanic war, instead of meaning the overthrow of Nimrod, is the history of the deluge in which the rest of the Titans perished.

Independently, however, from any of the two systems explanatory of the Kabirian mysteries, it is evident that the Kabiri were seven, as well as the apses having a similar arrangement at *Hagiar Kîm*; and that of the seven statuettes of ridiculous aspect found in the ruins, two represent females, just as we are informed that two of the Kabiri, *Axieros* (Ceres) and *Axiokersa* (Proserpine), were of that sex.

13. I inspected the monument of *Hagiar Kîm* on the 13th May of this year, and have to report:

1st. The large blocks, 11 in number, forming the front wall of the monument; and one that belongs to the right side wall, measuring 10 ft. by 21 ft. 5 in.; and the low basement of the same front wall, still exist; the rest of the circuit is much decayed since I saw it 12 years ago, from the fall of a large number of blocks of stone;

2nd. The six monoliths flanking the main entrance are still standing, but the large architraves, formerly supported by them, are broken down;

3rd. The wall surrounding the anterior area, 55 ft. long, is entire; the large *septa*, with openings 4 ft. by 2 ft. 6 in., separating the two apses of this area, are *in situ*; and so too are the steps leading to the right hand apse, the two opposite niches on the outside of this apse, and the cubic stones in the central area.

Nothing is to be seen within the left hand apse, which with the rest of the central area is full of stones and broken monoliths ;

4th. The tall monoliths, flanking the passage from the anterior to the posterior area, are still erect ; but their former large architraves are destroyed ;

5th. The eight monoliths, measuring 8 ft., four on each side of the second entrance, where originally stood the central apse, are preserved ; but the posterior area is totally disordered and full of broken stones, and large tables, some erect and some lying down ;

6th. The two lateral and opposite *septa* on the left of the posterior area, with their openings into the lateral recesses, and the walls enclosing these recesses, are pretty well preserved ;

7th. The two large vertical stones, supporting the *lastra sacra*, are fallen ;

8th. The four hemicycles, expanding from the left hand chamber of the posterior area, are perfectly traceable ; the two lateral ones with their steps and recesses are entire, although their arrangement is totally disturbed, and the large architraves, 9 ft. 4 in. long, roofing the entrances, are broken ; the large monoliths which encircled, externally, the two middle apses are lying on the ground.

#### *The Mnaidra Monument — Malta.*

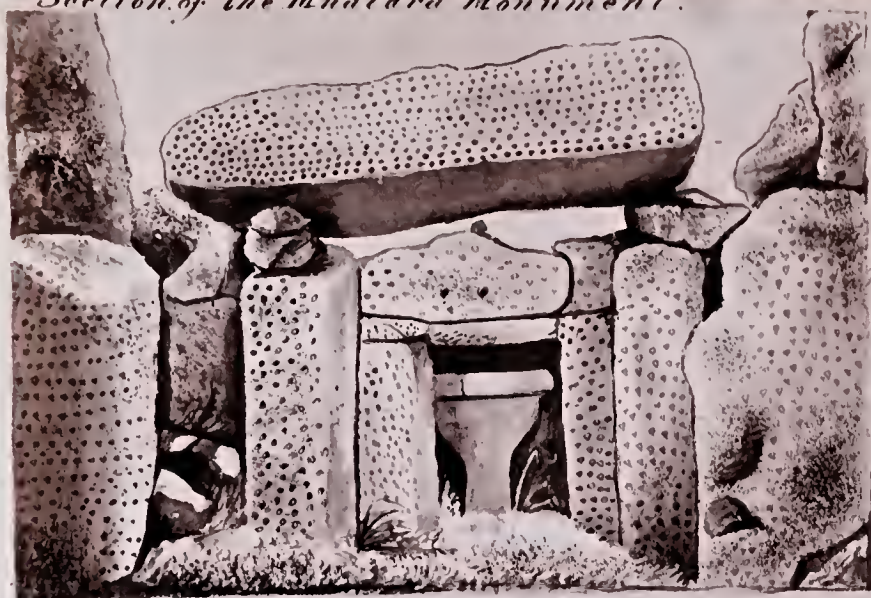
14. The *Mnaidra* monument, not far from the sea, looking to the South-east, is hardly one mile from *Hagiar Kìm*. Its discovery having been nearly contemporary to that of *Hagiar Kìm*, its circumstances, its illustrations, and description, are the same. I visited it on the 13th May last.

A megalithic circle surrounding two pair of oval areas in *juxta position* with their apses, is a faithful representation of the *Gigantia*. The right hand pair at *Mnaidra*, covering an area about 75 ft. diameter, is identical with the corresponding one at Gozo, and in both cases the internal arrangement is simpler than





*Section of the Muaidra Monument.*



*Entrance to recess A.*



*Right hand Apse of anterior area Termosa Thet.*





that in the left hand pair, having probably served for the same purpose. But in *Mnaidra* the right hand pair is the greater of the two, whilst in the *Gigantia* the left hand pair covers a circle of about 100 ft. in diameter; and in the *Gigantia* the posterior area of the left hand pair, measuring nearly 80 ft. by 21 ft., is larger than the anterior, whilst in *Mnaidra* the anterior area is the larger of the two.

The left apse of the posterior area of the left hand pair of this monument has been, evidently, interfered with by a later projection of a recess from the anterior area.

Of all the monuments of the islands of Malta, the *Mnaidra* shows most attempt at ornament, pit-markings being the favourite decoration.

15. The opinion of Dr. Vassallo, that this temple was dedicated to *Eshmun* (the Greek Esculapius according to Pausanias in Coriath), the eighth and later member of the *Kabirian* family of Sydek by one of the Titanides, according to Sanchoniatho; and that the right hand pair might have been an annexed *Nosocomium* protected by a *parapetasma* from the sun and rain, is not so well grounded as the one about *Hagiar Kîm*.

16. I have to report:

1st. The exterior wall surrounding the monument is better preserved than at *Hagiar Kîm*;

2nd. The large monoliths of the entrance to the anterior area of the left hand pair, and some of the large architraves roofing the entrance, are preserved;

3rd. The anterior area with its two apses, measuring 44 ft. 7 in. in length, walled up with five courses, is still entire. The *septa* of the apses are removed. Several of the monoliths in the right hand apse, pierced through by large holes like the Keltic monoliths; the four steps and opening on the right of this apse leading to a lateral repository, where an internal arrangement is pretty well preserved, still exist. The niche in the left hand apse

by the main entrance is destroyed ; the opening to the recess on the right is full of pit markings, and the internal arrangement of this recess very well preserved, but the area is encumbered with a great quantity of stones. All the cubic seats are preserved ;

4th. The monoliths and architraves in the passage to the posterior area, *in situ* ; in the posterior area, right apse regularly walled up ; central apse flanked by two monoliths, 12 ft. high, entire, and a large horizontal table, 9 ft. by 4 ft., broken *in situ* ; wall of left apse destroyed ;

5th. Right hand pair, anterior area entirely walled up, exhibiting no arrangement, except two niches by the passage to the posterior area ; posterior area entirely enclosed by external wall ; *septum* of the right hand apse not preserved ; central apse flanked by two monoliths, 9 ft. high, supporting a broken table, 10 ft. 8 in. by 4 ft. 5 in., *in situ* ; *septum* of left apse with a rectangular opening, 3 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft., leading to a recess with complete internal arrangement, existing.

Not far from this place there are *Bir-Giabrun* (Well of the Giants), and *Biar-Giabar* (Wells of the Giant), which may have been of service in the religious ceremonies and sacrifices performed in *Hagiar Kîm* and *Mnaidra*. Moreover, the villagers report, that in the neighbourhood exist large subterranean caves, which are still unexplored.

17. I think the theory of Mr. Fergusson, that these monuments were *columbaria*, or places of sepulture, is quite untenable. Certainly, the thickness of their megalithic walls could not serve for the interment of dead bodies, or their ashes ; and their plans, and internal arrangement with parapets, niches, apses, recesses, and tables, similar to the *Gigantia* even in details, and which Mr. Fergusson mistakes for *loculi* and *columbaria*, have no resemblance to those of any class of ancient *tumuli*. Much less do they resemble the arrangement of the numerous Phœnician tombs, and burial places, in these islands ; whilst there is no doubt that the *Gigantia*, to which the other monuments are thoroughly





*Septum in the right hand apse, anterior area*

FORMOSA. PHO.





analogous, so ably compared by La Marmora with the temple of Paphos, was a place of worship, and one of those mentioned in the inscription *Melitensis quinta*. Neither could the monstrous skull in the collection of the Library (the rest of the bones not having been preserved), found by Mr. Vance at *Hagiar Kìm*, be urged in favour of that theory, as its very acute Camper's angle of  $61^{\circ}$  shows that it is Kamite and not Phœnician skull.

More conclusive still is the proof drawn from the two votive candelabra, found in the ruins of the temple of the Tyrian Hercules, Malta. These two marble candelabra, the one preserved in the collection of the Library and the other in one of the Mazzarino galleries, found previously to 1694, bear a bilingual inscription, Phœnician and Greek, *Melitensis prima*, stating that these two *Cippi* were "*voted to our Lord Melkarte (Hercules), Lord of Tyre, by his servant Abd-Osir and his brother Osirshamar.*" The fulfilment of this sacred vow could not have taken place but in the temple dedicated to Hercules. Now, the ruins of the temple of Hercules exhibit, precisely, the same plan and distribution of areas and apses as the other monuments. Arguing, therefore, from analogy, no other opinion can be entertained, but that they were, likewise, *loci consecrati*.

I consider equally ungrounded the opinion, that these monuments were roofed with conic domes, all the circumstances of their construction proving them to have been hypethral.

#### *The Melkarte Monument — Malta.*

18. The temple of *Melkarte*, the Tyrian Hercules (*Borg-en-Nadur*), is on the declivity of Nadur hill, towards St. George's bay in Marsascirocco harbour, about 700 feet from the sea shore. Ptolemy points out on the Marsascirocco hill the accurate site of this temple, which was "of great renown in antiquity," at least up to 196 A.C., the epoch of the old Geographer. The Auditor of Grand Master Villiers de L' Isle-Adam, Quintinus, who saw these ruins in 1532, writes: "*Herculani templi immensæ*

“ *adhuc reliquiae patent, circuitu in passus ter mille et ultra, in eo*  
 “ *insulæ angulo quem patria lingua euri portum nominant. Imo*  
 “ *pars extat in plerisque lapidum longitudinis, crassitudinisque*  
 “ *stupendæ.*” (*Descriptio Melitæ*).

The illustration by Hoüel, vol. IV, pl. CCLV, of a wall about 30 yards long, consisting of four courses of stones, each from 5 to 6 ft. high, on the opposite *Deyr-Limara* hill near the little chapel *Ad Nives*, was by mistake presumed to represent one of the sides of the temple of Hercules.

19. I inspected this monument, which the Government of the Knights of St. John barbarously suffered almost to perish, on the 20th May last.

The ruins at present apparent are only those of a megalithic wall, 45 ft. long, bounding one elliptical area and one apse, encumbered by heaps of stone and surrounded by “Karrubi” trees.

It was the largest of the temples already reported on, as the remaining apse, which is the right, presuming that the main entrance looked to the East, is about 60 ft. wide, the thickness of the wall being from 6 to 9 ft.

Count Ciantar, book II, not. II, § X, relates that a little before 1772 he visited these ruins, a portion of the interior flagging of which in large white marble slabs was still to be seen, as also the rough pavement of the surrounding square and site, now a public road, composed of a well beaten bed of sand lime, and fragments of broken tiles, covered with a hard plastering, about 3 in. thick, of a red and yellow composition, which Count Ciantar considers belonging to that class of flooring called *Pæni* by Festus; and some shafts of columns &c. He further relates his having been informed by the farmer of the place, that several hinges and hooks of brass, found in a spot pointed out to him, were presented by the owner of the tenement to be melted down, towards making one of the bells hanging in the church of St. Lorenzo, Vittoriosa.

A great many of the shafts of columns and tiles, seen by





RUINS OF THE PHOENICIAN TEMPLE OF MELCARTE AT ST GEORGE'S BAY, MARSASCIROCCO, MALTA.

(Woodcut block 13A)





Count Ciantar, were again uncovered last April, in the excavations lately undertaken in the same place.

20. About 500 ft. from the temple towards the sea shore, two erect monoliths, 11 ft. 3 in. in height, support a third one 15 ft. 9 in. in length, and form one side of a quadrangular space walled up with small stones, a passage being left to a pig-sty in the middle. They mark with other monoliths, some measuring 13 ft., the entrance to an ovoid cell. Dr. Vassallo believes this to be the vestibule of the temple of *Melkarte*. I am inclined to think that it was rather a recess, or sanctuary, annexed to the main temple.

( A series of round holes, from 2 to 8 ft. deep, on the shore of St. George's bay, their surfaces calcined by fire, some of them extending under the level of the sea, deep wheel ruts, as well as *Ghar-el-Giganti*, in the neighbouring place *Shgharet-Medewiet* or *el-Gigantia*, being a large tank internally divided by 12 pilasters in three rows and roofed with large slabs of stone adjusted on large architraves, which Government has lately undertaken to clear out, may have belonged to the same temple.

Quintinus, in stating the exaggerated dimensions of the temple of *Melkarte*, was misled by numerous other megalithic vestiges existing in the neighbouring explanade of *Shgharet-Medewiet*, where two Phœnician tombs have been also lately cleared out, one with two separate *loculi* very well preserved, and the other without any separation, fitted for two or three bodies.

*The Temple of Astarte (?) — Malta.*

21. The ruins of the temple of *Astarte (?)* are on the declivity of Corradino hill, towards the inner extension of the Great Harbour. In 1840, when the clearing of the site was begun, an entrance and two hemicycles were discovered, but the works were stopped.

I visited these ruins on the 17th May last, and, notwithstanding the encumbrances, I was able to trace two large areas,

each ending in two apses, the openings to several recesses, and the vestiges of at least four or five of these megalithic constructions on the same hill, which Dr. Leith Adams describes as dolmen-like ruins. "Notes of a Naturalist in the Nile valley and Malta."

*Other Rough stone Monuments — Malta and Gozo.*

22. I have been unable to identify the *Diar Nadur Is-shghara* monument, illustrated by Hoüel vol. IV, pl. CCLX, with any of the monuments described. However, besides these Phœnician *loci consecrati*, the plans, elevation, and arrangements, of which are still more or less preserved, there are numerous ruins of rough stone monuments scattered in various localities, especially in Malta. I inspected several of them on the 18th, 19th, and 23rd, May last; they are much encumbered, and almost concealed, with earth and stones, in a state of awful neglect, and some entirely disappearing. In consequence of which circumstance, beyond a simple topographical hint, I am unable to describe them, or, *nisi Sybilla edisserit*, to guess the purpose of their construction.

23. Gleaning some particulars about these islands from Ptolemy, Diodorus, Strabo, and other Classics, and comparing the descriptions of our historians grounded on local traditions of their time, and the names of certain places now deserted, with my own observation, I think an attempt to point out some traces of the old Phœnician topography of Malta, in order that these scattered relics might be grouped round the centres and within the area, they originally occupied, is possible. A great many places, on the eastern and chiefly on the western parts of the island of Malta, at present uninhabited, still retain their old names by which they record their having been once an assemblage of hearths. Some of these places bear the prefix *Hall*, a shortening of *Rahal* (reunion of shepherds), and some that of *Deyr* (assemblage of houses), attached to their proper names, such as are *Hall-Ghull*, *Hall-Millier*, *Hall-Kbir*, *Hall-Far*, *Deyr-el-Bniet*, *Deyr-Limara*, *Deyr-Handùll*, &c.

There is no ground for presuming, that any extensive removal of these old centres of habitation, by a population stranger to nomadic habits, took place under the Roman and the Greek Emperors. It is, further, known from Malaterra, the Secretary to Count Roger, and the old Bonfiglio, that many of these places were still inhabited during the Arabic occupation of the islands, 870-1090. Hence, we may consider these places as primitive centres of the native population, and infer that the abandonment of the western part of Malta, and a change of topography in the eastern part, by a retirement from the maritime sides to the interior, have taken place during the long Norman and Arragonese periods, and, perhaps, up to the reign of Grand Master De Redin in 1640, during which time the islands of Malta were exposed to very frequent depredations from the Arabs of Barbary. This is confirmed by an interesting manuscript document of 1575, preserved in the Episcopal Court, "the Acts of the Apostolic Visit of Monsignor Duzzina to the Churches of Malta and Gozo." It is related in these Acts, "that the inhabitants of Melleha, the most extensive " western region of the island of Malta, having abandoned their " hearths at that place on account of frequent piratical invasions " from Barbary, and withdrawn to inner centres, the old Parish " Church of the place, holding still its old title up to that time, had " long ago ceased to be so."

Comm. Abela, the best acquainted of our writers with local topography, in book I, not. VIII, states, that the eastern inhabited part of the island of Malta was divided into two regions: one to the East, called *Zeitùn*, the country of olive-trees, including the present casals on that side; the other to the North East, called *Harhar* or *Aaraar*, the country of juniper-trees, extending from Marsamuscetto to Birchircara and St. Julian's inner bay. These two names are, at present, recorded, the former by a village, and the latter by a heath, or barren waste. The same historian quotes two letters of King Ferdinand the Catholic, one, dated the 15th May 1514, to his Ambassador in Rome, stating that in Malta there were 60 *Aldee*, the nucleuses of the villages, which Abela



describes in his book ; and the other letter to his Viceroy in Sicily, dated 5th January 1499, stating that besides the Urban Militia in the chief town of Malta, and in *Castello a mare* (the present Fort St. Angelo), the Rural Militia was 4000 men strong. Both these documents are in the Archives of Occana. Still there is a much older document, that of Martin I of Arragon, 1398, proving the *political status* of these islands, with an Administrative Council elected by the people, having powers to appoint officers to the Executive, and Judges, for one year, and a National Militia called *Deima* by the natives, and asserting “ that the maintenance “ of these islands did not entail any expense on the Royal “ Treasury.” *Vide* Capibreve Regio della Secrezia del Regno, Regia Cancelleria di Palermo.

The topography of Malta, described by Abela is, however, the recent one, namely, posterior to the Norman, German, and Arragonese, periods. In order to find out with probable accuracy some of the traces of the old topography, we must draw as much as possible to the close of the 11th and beginning of the 12th centuries. In the Archives of the Church it is recorded, that Pope Urban II, on the recommendation of Monsignor Gualtieri the Bishop of Malta, named by Count Roger in 1090, erected the little Chapel of *St. Lorenzo a mare*, the present Collegiate Church of Vittoriosa, into a Parish Church, and appointed eight *Vicarie* for as many assemblages of centres of the rural population, dependent on the parish priest of the Cathedral. Another Church document of 1436, concerning the erection of these eight old *Vicarie* into Parish Churches by Bishop De Mello, gives the names of these old centres of habitation, which have become subsequently deserted.

The positions, then, of these old villages, where the ruins of the before mentioned neglected Phœnician antiquities are found scattered, and the old Church document referred to, will assist us in tracing topographically some of the old centres of population anterior to the Normans, and, probably, as old as the Romans and Phœnicians.







Parvum Rem. in. 10.



PHOENICIAN WATER RESERVOIR NEAR THE TEMPLE OF MELCARTE AT ST GEORGES 54 MARSACIRCIO - MALTA





24. One of these large old centres was, certainly, *Hall-Kbir*, between the modern villages of Krendi and Siggieui. The villagers say, that one of its entrances was the place called *Bieb-el-Rahal*; it must have included *Hall-Niclusi*, *Hall-Shiluk*, *Hall-Barrani*, *Hall-Leu*, *Handak-el-Rihàn*, *el-Gorghenti*, *Hagiar-Kim*, *il Pellegrin*, *Taltami*, &c.; in fact, it is on this area that a great number of megalithic ruins, of tanks and cisterns, of tombs, &c., exist. (*Vide* Abela, book I, not. VIII; Bres, book II, ch. VIII). It included the *Kabirian* and *Mnaidra* temples towards the S.S.E. Was it, then, the Phœnician capital of Malta, perhaps *Kabiria*, which perishing left its name recorded by *Hall-Kbir*, a small fraction of it?

Dr. Vassallo thinks, that the Phœnician capital of Malta was *Ghar Barca*, outside Notabile. But, though *Ghar Barca* at the time of the Greeks may have been a suburb peopled by Greeks, and, perhaps, the most respectable classes of the Phœnicians, it could never have been the primitive capital of that race, as none of the conspicuous Phœnician architectural monuments, or ruins, are to be observed in that locality.

Another large centre of population was, certainly, on St. George's bay and the Marsascirocco creeks, where the Phœnicians erected the temple of Hercules, and where still many ruins and tombs exist in the *Medewiet Shghara*, and many are recorded by Abela and Bres on the *Marnisi* hill, and *Deyr-Limara* promontory.

The Marsa, in the Great Harbour, where the temples of *Astarte*, *Juno*, and *Diana* stood; the Corradino declivity on which still exist many unexplored Phœnician ruins; the *Kortin* promontory and the Jesuits' hill, on which traces of extensive Roman buildings were discovered in 1768, and numerous vast hypogæa and tombs in 1870, on which I shall report in the Greek and Roman periods, formed originally, beyond doubt, another great Phœnician centre.

In the Villa Frere, on the mole of Pietà, the Right Honourable John Hookham Frere, in 1834, restored with great

taste a Phœnician wall there existing. And on the opposite shore of that mole, in the *el-Ghzira*, there are very interesting Phœnician tombs.

Other minor and earlier Phœnician centres, where several megalithic ruins are still found, were *Hall-Giauar* near Gudia, with *Hall-Spital*, *Hall-Arrig*, and *tal-Ghassieui*; *Hall-Saft* and its neighbourhood on the road to Zurrigo, where, under the public road and in the fields opposite to the little Church of St. Andrea, a great number of tombs with very interesting arrangements exist, and Phœnician cisterns, of which I inspected several on the 6th June last; — *Kala tal Bahria*; *Emgiar Gieuieni*; *Emgiar Barrani*. Mixed, later on, with the Greek centres, appear to have been Phœnician focuses in *Ghar-Barca*, *Benjemma*, and *Emtarfa*, in the neighbourhood of the Greek capital.

Other Phœnician centres, on the West of Malta, were at *Selmun* and at the *Salines*. In *Misrah-Ghonok*, in the old village of *Hall-Dimech*, outside Musta, are still seen the ruins drawn and illustrated by the learned Architect Giorgio Grougnet, who has ventured to call them Atlantic. According to Architect Grougnet, the islands of Malta are a fragment of the North Western crest of the old Atlantides, extending from the great African Syrtes to old Carthage; the Great and Marsamuscetto harbours are the mouths of the river Cocytus, the root of which word is drawn from the Atlantic or Maltese etymology *Checci*, “to push,” to denote the impetus of its waves, driving all obstacles before them; a natural salt spring in the Villa Frere, the late residence of Lady Hamilton Chichester at Pietà, is still one of the outlets of the bitter Styx; and the Maltese are an Atlantic offspring in place of the Quensci of the Canaries. *Quid rides? mutato nomine . . . . .*

25. In the island of Gozo, besides the *Shghara* hill, other Phœnician ruins exist in *Ghar-Gherduf*, district of San Giorgio, about one mile and a half from Rabato; in the Sheukia village; in *Dahlet-Korrot* on the declivity of Nadur; in the tenement *ta-Shakkufiet* in the Garbo village, which places have certainly





Phoenician Ruins at Gizeh

Phoenician Ruins at Gizeh





been as many Phœnician centres in Gozo. These ruins, however, have never been cleared of the rubbish covering them.

26. Before dismissing the class of Architectural Phœnician monuments, I must report on another monument the period of which I am unable to state with certainty. It is an underground cave, dug in the sandstone rock in *Kasam-el-geuieni*, about  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of a mile to the South East of Notabile, first brought to notice by Messrs. Winthrop and Lock, in 1847, and described in the "Literary Gazette," October 2nd of that year. I inspected this place on the 18th June last. Its roof is just on a level with the adjacent ground. It consists of three chambers, having each an outside opening and communication with each other through passages inside the rock. The outer chamber is the largest, measuring 35 by 15 ft.; the two others 18 by 15 or 16 ft. The plan of these rooms is rectangular; they are furnished with some benches cut in the rock, and a small square tank, 10 ft. wide and 2 ft. deep. It has been considered by some, independently of every absence of ovoid forms, to be of Phœnician architecture, and by others, who fancied they observed an *Ibis* engraved on one of the walls, to be Egyptian. However, neither the Phœnicians, nor the Egyptians, excavated their dwellings inside the rock, or made their temples underground.

From the circumstance of the place being on the side of a cliff, and its difficult and concealed access, I consider it to have been a place of "refuge and concealment" from the invasions of the Arabs, subsequent to the Norman occupation of these islands, as are several places of this kind, which have served for this purpose in other localities.

27. An Atlas of the monuments and ruins mentioned in this class, and of others described in the following classes, designed from different points of view, in sepia or other colour, to show effectively their character, and observe, hereafter, the progress of their decay, and eventual destruction; as also a Map exhibiting

the exact position of these monuments, and of the Phœnician and other old centres of habitation, to ascertain the relation of proximity of the New to the Old Centres of habitation, and assist in discovering the interesting remains yet to be explored, are very desirable.

## CLASS II.

### Phœnician Pottery, and Glass Vessels.

28. The study of the fictile art of the Ancient, owing to the immense and rich variety of fictile remains collected in, comparatively, recent explorations, has given rise to an important branch of Archæology.

The relics of Phœnician pottery in the islands of Malta are very numerous, though not recorded in the Oriental division, embracing the pottery of Assyria and Egypt, of the "History of Ancient Pottery," by Birch, wherein he states, part I, ch. II, "that, notwithstanding the space the Phœnicians occupy in ancient history, and the conditions of their skill in navigation and in the manufactures, they have left behind them few or no remains of pottery." Moreover, Birch, in the Classical division of the pottery of Greece and Rome, reports only some of the Greek vases found in Malta.

Besides Phœnician earthenware, a large quantity of glass phials, glass vessels, in Greek called *phallovitroboli* on account of their strange shape, and commonly named *lacrymatories*, and other glass vases, are collected in these islands, and which Magri and Abela believe were imported from Tyre and Sydon. Pliny, indeed, states, book XXXVI, that "the Phœnicians were the authors of vitrification, or glass-making, having discovered the way of fusing the brittle sand of the river Belus."

29. The old tombs, where all sorts of earthenware vases were deposited, containing the softer tissues of the bodies of the dead, lungs and heart, the greater and the smaller viscera,



FURMOSA PHOTO

*Punician earthenware, Malta.*





separately, yield the largest supply of local Phœnician pottery and glass vessels, in the best state of preservation.

It is commonly believed, that these vases contained the ashes of the dead. This may be true with respect to vases found in the hypogæa of the Greeks, who settled in these islands together with the Phœnicians, since B.C. 700, and with whom the rite of cremation prevailed according to Thucydides, book II, ch. 52, and Lucianus de Luc., ch. 12. But the Phœnicians, like the Egyptians, took great care in properly preserving their dead, who were laid horizontally with slightly raised platforms having cavities at the East end to receive the head, and at the West to receive the feet.

30. The subject of Phœnician pottery was never properly dealt with by our historians and antiquarians, who comprehended under one denomination all Phœnician and Greek earthenware, found in these islands.

The former, however, are discernible by their more or less inflated conical body, often terminating with an elongated lower extremity to be dipped into the floor, or in rounded bases, from the more elegant Greek vases provided with a foot. With some exceptions of red, glazed, and polished terra-cotta specimens, the most common are of coarse, pale, sandy-coloured, unpolished, ware, and undoubtedly worked with the wheel. There are of every style and dimensions, some of them bearing very clear Phœnician characters, cyphers, and other marks, and although found in sepulchres, were certainly used for many domestic purposes.

They may be briefly arranged under the following classes:

*Jar-shaped* ware, some globular, others conical and slender, some dome-shaped above, with either lids sunk as a plug or without lids. All are without neck or handles, open-mouthed to allow the liquid contained in them to be easily drawn out with a cup, or a ladle.

*Amphora-shaped* ware, with a more or less inflated conical body, two or more handles at the sides, with ordinary sized

cylindrical or tall neck, with small rings to receive a cord, so as to admit of their being slung, or carried over the back, some with elongated end, others with a round base, or a foot, like the Greek specimens.

*Jugs*, with one handle, with a tall or short neck, an orifice to pour liquids from, or a spout. One very interesting specimen of these jugs, in the collection at the Library, represents a couchant cynocephalus, well preserved, forming with its open mouth the spout of the jug.

*Bowls, dishes*, and many other small utensils and *shoe-shape lamps*, with place for one or two wicks, &c.

31. From my own personal knowledge I am able to state, that the richest and choicest collections of Phœnician pottery are owned by private individuals, the collection at the Public Library being comparatively the poorest, having none of the specimens with Phœnician characters, or potters' marks. The collection at the Public Library contains specimens of pottery, found in tombs at *Selmun*; *Hofret-er-Rizz* in *Emtahlep*; *Busbiesa* near *Musta*; *Skak-Barrieri* near *Balzan*; *S. Domincu* near *Rabato*; *S. Giacbu* near *Zebbug*; *casal Dingli*, in *Malta*; and from other localities in *Gozo*.

The valuable collection of Mr. Giorgio dei Conti Sant Fournier contains several Phœnician urns and vases, some bearing Phœnician characters, and some potters' marks, under one of the handles: they are in excellent state of preservation, and were found at the *Bahria*, *Malta*, and in *Gozo*.

32. Beside the above common Phœnician earthenware, there are preserved in the collection at the Library the following fictile objects, belonging to the same class:

An *epichysin* of fine form, and very well preserved, disinterred in 1707, and illustrated by Prince de Torremuzza XVII, *Classis XX*. It was engraved by Rocco Buhagiar and represented as with a legend in unknown characters. Some scratching is,



*Phoenician earthenware. Malta*

FORMOSA PHOTO





however, only apparent in the place where these characters were marked by Buhagiar.

An earthenware *mask*, smaller than life-size, well modelled, thought by Dr. Vassallo to represent *Eshmun* from the long beard, ornamented with rings. In the collection of Mr. G. Sant Fournier there are two other well modelled earthenware masks, very well preserved, one found in the district *tal-Knejjes*, and the other, which is probably Roman, in the neighbourhood of Notabile, in 1850.

A polished red terra-cotta *sarcophagus*, 4 ft. 11 in. long and from 1 ft. 11 in. wide near the head, tapering to 9½ in. near the feet, with a lid of the same material, on which is the figure of a girl, natural size, very well moulded. It was found with a skeleton inside, and an iron ring, at *Ghar Barca*, in 1797. Abela in his "Malta Illustrata," book II, not. II, § V, mentions three other sarcophaguses of terra-cotta which were preserved by him, and were afterwards deposited in the Casino San Giacomo. One of these was discovered in 1624, in the same locality of *Ghar Barca*, near the crypt of Santa Venera, of which he gives an engraving in tab. IX. The figure moulded on the lid was apparently a male. Canon Agius in the "Gozo Illustrato," mentions another of the same substance and form, found near the Church of St. Francesco, Rabato, Gozo. Monsignor Bres, book II, ch. VIII, mentions two others discovered in the same locality towards the close of 1800, and preserved by Marquis Barbaro. Abela, book II, not. II, § VII, mentions other sarcophaguses of lead, marble, and stone, found in different parts of Malta and Gozo. I am unable to state where all these monuments are at present.

A polished red terra-cotta *bath*, 5 ft. 6 in. long and 2 ft. 6 in. wide, with a cover of the same material, made of three slabs, found in 1797 in the same district.

A glass *amphora*, 1 ft. 6 in. high, in excellent preservation but wanting one of the handles, of iridescent appearance, found in the ditch of Fort St. Angelo.

Several glass vessels and phials.

## CLASS III.

**Phœnician Monuments of Sculpture.**

33. Greek and Roman classics, and old historians, relate that in their colonies, planted on the shores and in the islands of the Mediterranean, the Phœnicians carried with their wares and wealth the rudiments of science and of arts, in a high degree of culture. The evidence of the Holy Writ (1 Kings, v. 6) in favour of the pre-eminence of the Tyrians in artistic skill, and that of Homer, book IV and XV of the *Odissey*, and VI and XXIII of the *Iliad*, stating that the finest embroideries, the most costly robes, the most exquisitely chased wine bowls, are of Sidonian workmanship, agree in testifying to the high degree of artistic culture of the Phœnicians in the 10th century B.C., about 500 years after their settlement in these islands.

Festus and Strabo extoll the wealth and splendour of Gades, as well as that of Tyre. And the authority of Diodorus Siculus, book V, ch. IV, proves directly “the opulence of the islands of Malta, shelter of the Phœnicians from and to, Gades and Tyre, “the existence of artificers for every kind of works in them, and “their excellence in the manufacture of linen beyond any thing “of the kind, both in firmness of texture and softness.” Valerius Max. and Cicero make just the same statement. There is no ground, however, for referring the state of splendour, described by these classical writers, to the earliest period of the Phœnician settlement in Malta, as we possess no truly artistic objects belonging to that epoch, and even the Phœnico-Maltese brass coins show no pretension to artistic elegance.

The artistic statues, bas reliefs, &c. we have, are the work of Greek artists, and the few monuments of Phœnician sculpture we preserve, record simply their rude worship.

34. In the following list, I describe the few Phœnician monuments of sculpture, preserved in the collection of the Public Library.

The seven *Kabiri*, from 7 to 9 in. high, sculptured in Malta

FORMOSA.PHOT

*The seven Kabirians, found at Hagar Kim.*







stone, all headless, discovered at *Hagiar Kim* in 1839. They are of a ridiculous form and aspect : two of them *Axieros* and *Axiokersa* (Ceres and Proserpine) seated and enveloped in a large gown, distinctive of their female sex, and in one of them a tress of long hair falling down at the back as far as the heels, four are in a squatting position and naked ; the seventh, which is the largest, is mutilated from the knees downwards, and a belt covers it from the navel to half down the thigh. In two, where the neck is joined to the bust, there is a concavity and several holes which may have been used to fix a separate head on. It is very probable that the heads were of some more fragile or precious material than stone (Dr. Vassallo, "Guide to the Museum"). Though these are the only Phœnician statues preserved, there must have been others of Sadaam Baal, of Astarte, and other Phœnician deities worshipped in these islands, as evidenced by the inscription *Melitensis quinta*.

One of the two *Cippi* of salino marble, bearing Phœnician inscription *Melitensis prima*. It is formed of a conical fustum with acanthus leaves at the base, on a pedestal, altogether 3 ft. 2 in. in height, of elegant shape and graceful execution, as observed by Hoüel. (The learned Gori styles these *Cippi* "two candelabra, of " the rarest and most illustrious monuments of antiquity, which " by good luck have reached us entire and perfect." Alf. "Degli antichi Toscani," pag. 101. The two *Cippi* were brought to notice in December 1694 by Canon Costanzo in a letter to Bullifon, who published an account of them in 1697. They were preserved for a length of time by the Jesuit Fathers in the Museo Abela, which was bequeathed to them by that learned Commendatore. On the suppression of the College of those Fathers, these two *Cippi* were transferred to the "Libreria Tanseana," founded by the Bali de Tencin, which is the present Public Library of Valletta.) One of them only is preserved at the Public Library, the other being in the Mazzarino Museum, Grand Master Rohan having presented it to Louis XVI, in 1780. Monsignor Bres saw the one at the Mazzarino Museum in 1797. The account

given by Count Ciantar, book II, not. IV, § XXXI, of the discovery of these two *Cippi* is totally incorrect.

An *altar*, 2 ft. 5 in. high, and 1 ft. 6 in. wide: its surface pitted all over; eight small pillars springing from the angles support an Abacus, and two portions of serpents united at one point are represented in low relief in the intermediate faces. It was found in the ruins of *Hagiar Kim* in 1839, and was, probably, the altar of the Goddess *Echates* for the sacrifice of dogs, whose barking frightened spectres, according to Sofranes. Bochart, "Geog. Sacra," pag. 397 (Dr. Vassallo).

The *sacred slab*, found imbedded in a wall of the same ruins between two large parallel and vertical stones, pitted all over and presenting two raised spirals figuring two coupled serpents (the Generative Power), leaving a half-egg in the middle in high relief (the Universe), the upper part being the Heaven and the lower the Earth.

An *Egyptian Triad* borne by *Talamifera*, carved in Malta stone, 1 ft. 2 in. high. Osiris, bearing an Ibis head with a cavity in the vertex, is sitting on the right; Isis on the left; and Orus with a falcon's head, in the middle. The sides and the front of the pedestal are covered with hieroglyphics, of which Dr. Lepsius, in 1842, pronouncing it to be a sepulchral monument, promised an interpretation. It was discovered at Gozo in 1713;

A bronze *Isis*, sitting, without arms, with a basket, or a tower (Cybele) on the head;

Four bronze *Osirides*;

Four terra-cotta statuettes, covered with green glaze, and ornamented with hieroglyphics.

35. Mr. G. dei Conti Sant Fournier, in his private collection, has a small bust made of gilt lead, representing a female with a movable feathered cap on, found in 1850 on *Benjemma* hill; and a large stone head, very well preserved, exhibiting a fat round face, resembling the type of the figure moulded on the sarcophagus



*Discovered at Giza.* CLERMONT 1907





preserved in the Library, and discovered in the same *Ghar Barca* tomb.

In the collection of Mr. G. M. Bonavita, at casal Attard, there are the best preserved statuettes, found in several places in these islands, namely: an Orus,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  in. high, covered with green glaze; several of Isis covered with hieroglyphics still very clearly impressed, some of them 5 in. high; a considerable number of amulets, and brass statuettes; and a very interesting marble vase in the form of the Egyptian Tuautmutf(?), the lid being in the shape of the head of a jackal.

36. The old historians of these islands mention other discoveries of Phœnician sculpture. Where these exist at present I do not know.

Ciantar, book I, not. X, § XXIII, relates, that, in 1729, a golden calf was discovered on *Ghelmus* hill near Zebbug, Gozo. Notwithstanding the tortures inflicted by Grand Master Manoel De Vilhena upon the individual who bought the object (Dr. Cassar) to induce him to give it up, no information could be obtained of the place of its existence. It may have been destroyed or sold elsewhere. The Bali Baron de Stadl wrote a learned dissertation about it. In the same island, near Garbo, 1759, a talisman was found of glazed pottery, bearing a monkey figure upon it and some sacred Phœnician characters. There is an engraving of it in tab. XII, Ciantar.

37. In concluding this list, I must observe, that several of the objects mentioned, belong, apparently, to the Egyptian worship. However, notwithstanding the assertions of Munter (*Spuren Ægyptichen &c.*) to explain the cause of the existence of such monuments in these islands, it is certain that the Egyptians never settled in Malta; and, indeed, they never settled as a colony anywhere. Hence, an Egyptian period in these islands is inadmissible. Moreover, Clerc, Marsham, and Bannier, proved that the Phœnicians and the Egyptians had identical religious

rites, viz. those of Mercurius Trismegistus, handed down through the seven sons of *Sydek*, to the former in Berithus where they were engraved on pillars, from which Sanchoniatho compiled the Phœnician Theogony, and to the latter in Egypt, where Maneton, the great Pontiff of Sebennito, compiled the Egyptian Cosmogony and Annals, B.C. 260.

## CLASS IV.

**Phœnician Inscriptions.**

38. I proceed now to report on the Phœnician inscriptions found in the islands of Malta, stating accurately the circumstances of their discovery, and other particulars referring to them.

MELITENSIS PRIMA, “bilinguis;” Gesenius.

*V. Melitæ, Classis XX; Castello Prince Torremuzza.*

Duplicate; one of the ectypes preserved in the collection at the Public Library, the other in the Mazzarino Museum since 1780.

39. These two similar inscriptions are incised on two salino marble Cippi, supporting a conical fustum of elegant form, 3 ft. 2 in. high, supposed to be two candelabra. Each of them has the Greek translation underneath, formed of old Greek characters, showing the translation to be of the Era of the Lagides, about 300 B.C. *Vide* Inscription II, class XIV. As the Greek translation is incised under the Phœnician inscription, in the lower half of the same marble, that place was, evidently, meant to receive the incision of the Greek characters; thus, it may be safely inferred, that both the Phœnician inscription and its Greek translation are of the same epoch.

Canon Ignatius Costanzo was the first to mention these inscriptions in 1694, as having been found in the ruins of Marsascirocco. Bullifon in 1697, and Guyot de Marne in 1733, were the first to publish them. Each inscription contains 71 letters, forming 18 words in four lines, and six proper nouns. L'Abbé







Barthelemy, Swinton, and Perez-Bayer, proved the difference of the characters from the Cufic-Arabic, and their similarity to those of the coins of the Syrian Kings, of King Hiarbas, and of the Sydonian, Tyrian, and Carthaginian, inscriptions. By means of these inscriptions was constructed the alphabet of the Phœnician paleography, just as by means of the Eugubian inscription in Etruscan and Latin, and the Rosetta inscription in Egyptian and Greek, the Etruscan and Demotic alphabets were discovered.

40. There are seven transliterations into Hebrew of *Melitensis prima*, in Hebrew square characters borrowed by the Hebrews from the Chaldaic after their 70 years bondage in Babylon, their previous characters, or the Samaritan, being of Phœnician coinage. The first, by l'Abbé Fourmont in 1733, "Acad. des Inscrit." tom. IX; the second, by the Benedictine authors "Del Dizionario Diplomatico" tom. I, par. VII; the third, by l'Abbé Barthelemy, "Acad. des Inscrit." XXX; the fourth, by Swinton "Philosoph. Transactions" vol. LIV; the fifth, by Perez-Bayer, "Alf. de los Fenicies;" the sixth, by F. Fabricy, "De Borg. Hebr." p. I; the seventh, by the learned Orientalist Gesenius, "Script. Ling. Phœniciaë."

The interpretations given by the first two are absurd; the other five nearly agree in giving the sense of it, which is: "*A vow from Abdosir and his brother Osirschamar, sons of Osirschamar, son of Abdosir, to My Lord Melkarte, Lord of Tyre, praying that he may bless them whenever he hears their words.*"

Its reading and translations by Barthelemy and by Gesenius, Professor of Oriental languages in the Halle University, are very little different.

By Barthelemy.

DOMINO NOSTRO MELKARTO DOMINO TYRI  
VOTUM FECIMUS ABDASAR ET FRATER MEUS ASERHEMOR  
FILII ASARHAMORI, FILII ABDASARI. SIC QUI EOS  
DEVIARE FECIT, BENEDICAT EIS.

By Gesenius.

DOMINO NOSTRO MELKARTO (King of the town) DOMINO TYRI  
VIR VOVENS SERVUS TUUS (sum ego) ABD-OSIR  
CUM FRATRE MEO OSIRSCHAMAR  
AMBO FILII OSIRSCHAMARI FILII ABDOSIRI. UBI AUDIVERIT  
VOCEM EORUM BENEDICAT IIS

In the Greek translation the names of Dionysius, Serapion, and Hercules, are substituted for those of Abd-Osir, Osirschamar, and Melkarte, conformably to the use of assuming Greek names in addition to the Phœnician, or Syrian, or Jewish names, prevailing after the conquests of Alexander the Great.

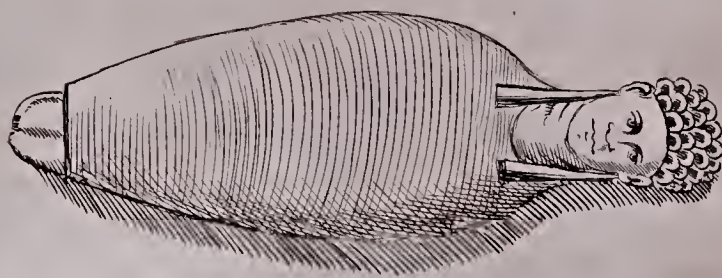
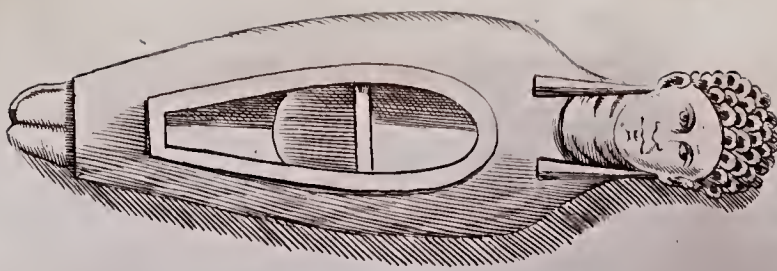
MELITENSIS ALTERA ; Gesenius.

VI. *Melitæ, Classis XX; Torremuzza.*

The ectype is preserved in the "Cabinet des Antiques," Paris, since 1810.

41. This inscription was discovered in 1761 in a sepulchral cave, embedded in the wall near the head of a human skeleton, at *Bin-Ghisa*, Malta, where it was preserved up to 1810. In December of the same year it was delineated by Barthelemy in the "Journal des Savants," from an apograph sent to him by Count Ciantar (book I, not. IV, § XXX; book II, not. II, § XIV, tab. XI). Canon Francesco Agius de Soldanis, in 1763, sent an apograph of it to Prince Torremuzza, who published it in 1769. Another apograph by l'Abbé Venuti was published by Swinton, "Ph. Trans." t. LIII, tab. 17; and a fourth publication, in 1810, was made by Sir W. Drummond. It was, also, interpreted by Tychsen, Koppius, and Gesenius.

42. It contains 47 letters forming 16 words in four lines, and two proper nouns; its epoch is referred to the times of the Ptolemies. The subject reminds "*the grave to be a locked up room*" "*in the home of eternity: inertness to be the mother of disgrace.*"



*Phoenician Sarcophaguses, Malta*

*Formosa Phot*





“ *The pious Hannibal son of Barmeleck to be deposited in that grave.*”  
It is thus translated :

By Gesenius.

CONCLAVE DOMUS ÆTERNÆ (est) SEPULCHRUM. DEPOSITUS EST  
PIUS IN HOC CLAUSTRO. SPIRITUS  
REMISSIONIS (of inertness) MATER IGNOMINIÆ. HANNI-  
BAL FILIUS BARMELECK.

The similarity of names led Drummond to believe, that in this place were deposited the remains of the great leader of the Carthaginians over the Alps, the son of Hamilcar, who died in Bithynia. M. A. Vassalli, in the “ *Mylsen Phœnico-Punicum*,” read the last line in Maltese *Hannibal Bin Bat Meleck*, i.e. Hannibal son of Battus King, he meant the Phœnician King of Malta mentioned by Ovid !

MELITENSIS TERTIA ; Gesenius.

*Prima*, tab. III ; Hamaker.

The ectype is preserved by Mrs. W. Strickland.

43. The place of discovery of *Melitensis tertia* by Antonio Dimech, servant of Carlo Bonici Mompalao, in 1820, is near the Dominican Convent of Rabato, Notabile. An apograph of this inscription was sent, the same year, by the French Consul in Malta, to Quatremère, who communicated it to Gesenius and Hamaker, and by the latter was first edited in “ *Miscell. Phœniciis*,” tab. 3. A more accurate apograph was, in 1828, prepared by Miss Forbes, with some variations from the preceding one. The apograph of Miss Forbes is preserved in the Museum of the Asiatic Society, London, with an interpretation by Alberto de la Marmora, who considered it an inscription on a public building. A third apograph is recorded by Lanci, who believed it to be a sepulchral epigraph. It was also published in the “ *Malta Penny Magazine*,” No. 10, 16th November, 1839, with a reading and interpretation by the Rev. S. Marmarà.

44. This inscription, which according to Gesenius is a votive stone, contains 13 words in 6 lines, and four proper nouns. The subject commemorates "*the raising of this monument by Malchibaal, to the Sun-God, having granted his prayer.*" It is thus translated:

By Gesenius.

POSUIT MALCHI-  
BAAL, VIR JAM-  
LICHENSIS, BA-  
ALI SOLARI (solis Deo) LA-  
PIDEM QUUM EXAUDIVISSET  
OMNIA VERBA MEA.

45. The following translation somewhat different, owing to variations in the reading of some of the characters, is

By Hamaker.

POSUIT NOLELA  
DOMINUS ELALENSIUM (vel *Allonensium*)  
EXPIANDI CAUSA BA-  
ALI COLUMNAM LAPI-  
DEAM, QUONIAM INCIR-  
CUMCISUS ERAT SERMONE.

MELITENSIS QUARTA; Gesenius.

*Secunda*, tab. III; Hamaker.

Present place of preservation is unknown.

46. The circumstances and place of the discovery of this inscription are the same as those of the preceding, and after its discovery, the ectype was purchased by the late Judge Bonavita. The inheritor of the collection of Judge Bonavita preserves, at present, only an apograph of that inscription; and from the researches made, I am able to assert that the Phœnician inscription of the Bonavita collection, so eagerly sought for by the French Academy, is the *Melitensis quarta*, Gesenius.

47. It contains eight words in six lines and two proper nouns. Subject: "*the erection of a pillar to Baal by Malch-osiridis in fulfilment of a vow of his father.*" There are two translations of it, one by Hamaker, by whom it was first edited, and one by Gesenius. The following translation is

By Gesenius.

CIPPUS MALCH-  
OSIRIDIS (rex Osiridis) VIRI S . . .  
SENSIS, BAALI  
LAPIS  
EX VOTO PA-  
TRIS MEI.

MELITENSIS QUINTA.

Ectype preserved by Mrs. W. Strickland.

48. This very interesting inscription was found at Gozo, about the year 1855. A photograph of it is shewn in the "Album of the Phœnician ruins by the late Society of Archæology," Malta.

On the assertions of Dr. Vassallo, and of Mr. Ferro, the Prussian Consul at Malta, in 1863, that no such inscription was known at Malta, Quatremère and Ewald suspected it to be a forgery.

49. This inscription was first published in Rome, in 1855, by Michelangelo Lanci "*Stela Fenicia discoperta in Malta,*" to whom an apograph of it was sent by l'Abbate Luigi Marchetti. In 1856, it was republished in Paris by the Duc de Luynes "*Inscription Punique de Malte,*" on which occasion Blau defended its genuineness. At present every doubt is removed about its existence, as it was, subsequently, described very accurately from actual inspection by Van Maltzan, "*Zeitschrift*" d. D. M. G. vol. XXIV, pag. 232; and the slab of white marble, about  $5\frac{5}{8}$  in. in extreme breadth, and  $6\frac{1}{8}$  in. in length, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. in thickness, was, in 1874, handed to Mr. Birch, the Keeper of the Antiquities in the British Museum, and the inscription incised on it, read and translated by Prof. William Wright, on 7th June 1874.



50. The Duc de Luynes very aptly remarked, that the left portion of this precious inscription disappeared, so that the phrases begun on each line are not continued for about the last third of the line towards the left side, which opinion is shared also by Prof. Wright. Blau and Ewald, on the contrary, consider the stone very slightly injured.

In its present state, this inscription contains eight lines, about forty-five words, and sixteen proper nouns.

Its antiquity is deemed considerable by Prof. Wright, the characters belonging to the best period of the Punic type. The middle of the third century B.C., is the epoch assigned to it.

51. Five transliterations into Hebrew are given of this inscription, namely, by Quatremère, Ewald, Blau, the Duc de Luynes, and Prof. Wright. It is commemorative of four shrines executed by the people of Gozo, at the expense of some worthy individuals, whose names, together with those of other persons connected with the work, are mentioned in it. Blau and Ewald, presuming that the inscription was discovered in Malta, agree in believing, that it is allusive to works executed in that island by the people of Gozo. But, though the ectype is at present preserved in Malta, it was really found at Gozo, and I am acquainted with the circumstances of its discovery there, and with those of its migration to Malta.

The two following interpretations are : —

By Quatremère.

FECIT ET RENOVAVIT POPULUS GOLI TRIA  
 SACRARIA : TEMPLUM SARAM BAAL, ET  
 SACRARIUM TEMPLI ASTARTES, ET SACRARIUM . . .  
 IN LOCO ARBE ADNAT-ARES (?), FILII JOEL  
 SUFFETIS, FILII ZIBKAM, FILII EBED-ASCHMUN, FILII JOELL :  
 SACRIFICAVIT BAAL-MALAK, FILIUS HANNA, FILII EBED-ASCHMUN  
 (filii)  
 BALA, FILII ZALAM, FILII JAZER, CUSTODIS LAPIDICINARUM  
 POPULI GOLI.



By W. Wright.

THE PEOPLE OF GOZO MADE AND RENEWED THE THREE . . . . .

SANCTUARY OF THE TEMPLE OF SADAM-BÀAL, AND THE s(anctuary) . . . . .

SANCTUARY OF THE TEMPLE OF ASHTORETH AND THE SANCTU(ary) . . . . .

WITH THE MONEY (?) OF THE MOST WORTHY (?) ARIS THE SON OF YUEL, (the) . . . . .

SHAFAT, THE SON OF ZYBHM, THE SON OF ABD-ESHMUN, THE SON OF YUE(l) . . . . .

SACRIFICE(or *sacrificed*), BA'AL-SHILLEKH, THE SON OF HANNO, THE SON OF ABD-ESHMU(n)

BALLO, THE SON OF KLN, THE SON OF YA'AZOR, THE SUPERINTENDENT OF THE CARPENTERS . . . . .

THE PEOPLE OF GOZO.

#### MELITENSIS SEXTA.

Coined on four of the types of the Maltese Numi.

52. This inscription, or epigraph, is found equally coined on four of the types of the Phœnico-Maltese Numi. Chronologically, it should be the first: not wishing, however, to omit it, or disturb the acknowledged order of the preceding Phœnico-Maltese inscriptions, I have preferred to report it in this place.

It is a legend, certainly, conveying the Phœnician name of one of the two islands of Malta, as in the Græco-Maltese coins bearing Phœnician types, the Greek legend pointing out the name of the island is substituted to it. The great difficulty met with in the proper reading of this epigraph, is due to the want of the vowel points as in old Oriental languages, and to the circumstance that two of the three characters, of which it is formed, are not clearly discernible from others having nearly the same figure or form.

The following are the principal variations in its reading and translation:

L'Abbé Fourmont, reading one *Mem* and two *Lamed*, formed *Mallit* or *Mellit* of the legend coined on the Phœnico-Maltese Numi. This reading is supported by the learned Oriental scholar Bochart, "Canaan" pars post., book I, ch. XXVI, stating that *Malath* (Maltese *Maghalak*?) means to shelter, the Phœnicians having chosen these islands as a place of shelter in their navigation,

from and to, Tyre and Gades, according to Thucydides and Diodorus Siculus; hence, the subsequent Greek name of Melita.

De Boze and l'Abbé Venuti, taking the three characters for one *Koff* and two *Resch*, read *Kerra* or *Kerar*, meaning *arid* or *frigid*.

Marquis Maffei, reading one *Aleph*, one *Vau*, and one *Lamed*, formed *Aul*.

Swinton, followed by Pellerin, Eckhel, and Munter, formed *Kaulin*, the old name of Gozo according to him, of one *Caph*, one *Lamed*, and one *Nun*.

Bagnolo read *Lilith* of two *Lamed* and one *Teth*.

Bayer and Lanci read one *Aleph* and two *Lamed*, the last one forming *Ael* for *Aeleeil*, *deus Aries* or *Jupiter Ammon*.

Hamaker hesitates between the reading of Lanci and that of an *Aleph*, a *Lamed*, and a *Nun*, forming *Aelin* an oak.

53. The learned Gesenius ascribes all these discrepancies to the state of infancy of Phœnician paleography. After having examined and compared this epigraph on the Phœnico-Maltese coins, preserved in the British Museum and in Gotha, and on the thirty-six specimens in the Lindberg collection, he does not hesitate to adopt the reading of Koppius, *i.e.* of an *Aleph* and two *Nun*. Gesenius proves to evidence: 1st, that the first of these characters, in the I and III Phœnician coins of these islands, is a vulgar *Aleph*; and in the coins II and IV, is the native and primitive figure of the same letter; 2nd, that in all the specimens, the second and third characters are perfectly alike, and in both of them the leg of the figure is much longer than the femur, which is all the difference of *Nun* from *Lamed*. I have examined fourteen specimens, and those of the old "Museo di Carlo di Ottavio Fontana" described and drawn by Sestini, in all of which the two *Nun* are very clearly legible. Hence, supplying the vowel points, the legend is by Gesenius read *Anin* or *Anun*, a Phœnician word for a *ship*, or *Ainun* the *fish island*. Was the resemblance of the elongated oval figure of Malta to that of a fish, Marsascirocco

bay showing its jaws and the North Western peninsula of Melleha its tail, so early perceived?

54. It is, further, to be examined, to which of the two islands, Malta or Gozo, these coins belong; and, consequently, of which of the two islands is this name? Many, amongst whom l'Abbé Venuti, Chaillou, Spon, Bres, and Hamaker, are of opinion that these coins are Maltese. Swinton, Maffei, Eckhel, Munter, and others believe Gozo to be the country of these coins; and Gesenius supports this opinion.

I do not hesitate to assert, that these coins are Phœnico-Maltese, and that the legend coined upon them points out, consequently, the old Phœnician name of Malta. Indeed, the type on obverse of the Greco-Maltese coins IV and V (IX and X of Bres) is, precisely, like that on obverse of the Phœnician coins I and III; and the legend *Melitajon* on those Greek coins states, undoubtedly, that they are Maltese. The Gozo coins, besides, had a different type, as we shall see in class XV, and bear the legend *Gayliton* coined upon them. Gesenius, who failed to make this remark, did not see the inscription *Melitensis quinta* found at Gozo, in the first and last line of which the Phœnician name of the sister island is clearly incised, and that is either *Gauel* or *Geual* as read by Movers and Wright, meaning a sort of round Phœnician ship according to Hesychius and Festus, or *Gol* as read by Blau, which is the name of a round sacred cup according to Stanley Faber, "Diss. on the Cabiri," ch. VII.

MELITENSIS SEPTIMA, OCTAVA, NONA, DECIMA, UNDECIMA,  
and DUODECIMA.

VII, VIII, IX, X, XI, and XII, *Melitæ*, *Classis XX*; Torremuzza.

Place of their preservation is unknown.

55. These six inscriptions were found on the *Emtarfa* hill, in 1630. Apographs were sent by Canon Agius to Castello Prince



Torremuzza, who published them in "Siciliæ veterum inscriptionum collectio," classis XX, 1763.

VII,	contains apparently	25	characters	in	four	lines ;
VIII,		11	characters	in	one	line ;
IX,		10	„	„		
X,		6	„	„		
XI,		5	„		in	two lines ;
XII,		2	„		in	one line.

56. No attempt, as far as I know, was ever made to read and interpret any of these inscriptions, although no reasonable doubt could be entertained about their discovery, and that of the following one. Canon Agius, extracting the copies from a manuscript in his possession, states the place and the epoch of their discovery, and the trust of an accurate and detailed reporter is certainly due to him. The same opinion is entertained by the learned Gesenius "Inscrip. Phœniciaë" book II, ch. I, who adds "*sive ipsorum statuariorum, sive, quod probabilius, descriptorum culpa, tam turpiter habitas, ut, qui eas explicare velit, oleum et operam perditurus sit.*"

I record them here trusting, that further researches may enable me to recover the manuscript of Canon Agius, or some other manuscripts, from which more accurate delineations may be taken.

#### MELITENSIS DECIMATERTIA.

#### XIII. Melitæ, Classis XX ; Torremuzza.

Place of preservation unknown.

57. This inscription, found at Birchircara, contains 16 characters in ten lines. As the preceding ones, is as yet uninterpreted.



## MELITENSIS DECIMAQUARTA.

XVIII. *Melitæ, Classis XX*; Torremuzza.

58. In 1693, in *Ghar Barca*, outside Rabato of Notabile to the West, a skeleton, nearly reduced to ashes, was found in an old tomb, with some glass vases and a thin plate of gold 10 in. long, folded and preserved in a gold case. This plate, which Count Borch, "*Lettres sur la Sicile et Malthe*," lettre XI, probably mistook for an Isiacal table, is longitudinally separated into two sections, covered from right to left with 59 very clear hieroglyphics, with Anubi face-like figures, some winged, others horned, and others of reptile shape, the upper series bearing an inscription with 29 Phœnician characters. Bellerman, "*Inscr. Phœniciæ*" page 17, explaining the figures on this plate, says, that the fishes and other reptile figures represent Dagon, the horned figures the priests of Moloch and Milchomi, and the winged figures the priests of Dagon. Waburton, in the "*Essays on Hieroglyphics*," proves that the inscription is Phœnician, and Bellermann is decidedly of the same opinion; but it has never been interpreted.

59. This precious relic was discovered by one of the dependants of Canon Ignatius Costanzo, and the Canon deprived his country of it to oblige Cardinal Cantelmi. It was first published by Bullifon, then engraved by the Leipsig authors in 1695, page 48; by Montfaucon, vol. II, part II, book I, ch. XIX; Castello Pr. de Torremuzza, classis XX; and Count Ciantar, book II, not. II, § VIII, tab. X.

## MELITENSIS DECIMAQUINTA.

Preserved in the collection of Mr. G. M. Bonavita.

60. It is a brass finger ring, bearing engraved on it four Phœnician characters very clearly.

61. I have expunged from the series of Maltese Phœnician inscriptions the XVII and XXIV, classis XX, Torremuzza. The

former, containing eight lines with some cyphers (*siglæ*), was published as engraved on the protuberant part of an epichysin, found in 1767; and the latter, in one line, round the rim of an earthenware vase, discovered in 1762. These two vases of elegant form, and well preserved, are in the collection of the Library; but on the epichysin only some scratching is discernible, and the engraving by Torremuzza looks more, architecturally, like the old Greek alphabet than the Phœnician. On the second vase nothing is apparent. However, many earthenware vases have been found in both these islands, bearing Phœnician characters.

Abela relates, further, that several brass pitchers and terra-cotta vases having Phœnician marks and inscriptions, and pieces of marble covered with hieroglyphics, existed in the Museum of this island in his time.

Count Ciantar, book II, not. II, § XIV, tab. VI, describes a brass lamp, or perfuming vase, having Phœnician characters, found in 1632, drawn by Mr. Dor and the Leipsig authors; and several terra-cotta urns and vases found in *Wied-el-Gionna*, Marsa, 1765, of which one bore the impression of a seal near one of the handles (book I, not. IV, § XXX). None of these objects are, at present, to be found in the collection at the Library.

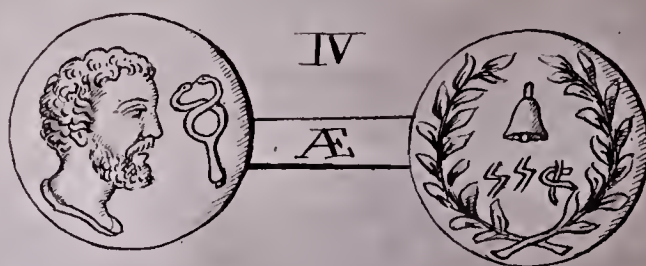
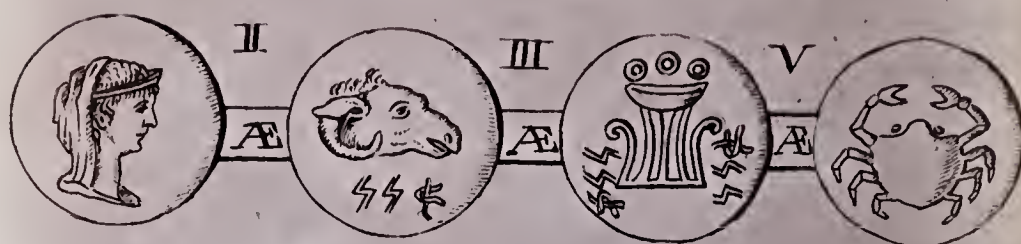
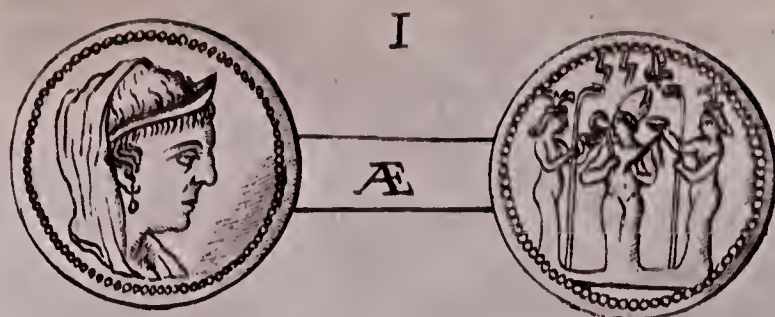
62. Quintinus, "Epist. ad Sophum" in 1533, and Fazelus, write, that they had seen several Phœnician inscriptions in Malta. Gesenius doubts whether they be different from those published by Torremuzza. He failed to observe, that the date of the letter of Quintinus is 1533, and that of the discovery of the inscriptions mentioned by Canon Agius and reported by Torremuzza, is 1630.

#### CLASS V.

##### **Phœnico-Maltese Numi.**

63. Five undoubted Phœnico-Maltese coins are acknowledged by Numismatics; one first, and the others third, brass, of which only the fifth is anepigraphic.





*Phœnico-Maltese Numi.*

*Fermosa Phot.*



They are found, exclusively and abundantly, in these islands, and were engraved by l'Abbé Venuti, "Atti dell'Accademia in Cortona;" Ciantar, "Malta Illustrata;" Monsignor Bres; Fourmont; Barthelemy; de Gebelin; Winkelman; &c.

I have proved, in No. 54, against Swinton, Maffei, Eckhel, Munter, and Gesenius, that the island of Malta is the country of these coins. No Phœnician coins belonging to the sister island of Gozo are, as yet, discovered.

64. (I.) First brass—On obverse: the covered head of *Astarte*, with diadem. On reverse: three erect figures; the middle an *Adon* bearing a *pileus*, or the *Mitra Melitensis* of Varro, on the head, a sickle in the right hand and a lash in the left; the figures at the sides, probably two priests, bearing a staff in one of the hands and a goblet in the other, and a bell, or a bell-flower (?), on the head. Over the head of the central figure three Phœnician characters. *Vide* Nos. 52 and 53 of this Report.

It was first published by Chaillou and Spon, London, 1719.

65. (II.) Third brass—On obverse: the covered head of *Astarte*, with diadem. On reverse: head of *Aries*, or the spring equinox, and the three Phœnician letters below.

It was first published by Paruta in 1612, Mayer, Hawercampus, and Lastanosa.

66. (III.) Third brass—On obverse: the covered head of *Astarte*, with diadem. On reverse: a tripod with three crowns over it, and the usual Phœnician legend repeated on both sides.

It was published contemporarily with the II.

67. (IV.) Third brass—On obverse: a bearded male head and Mercury's *caduceus*. On reverse: either a bell, or a bell-flower (?), crowned with laurels, and the same legend.

It was first published by Cuperus, and Sperlingius, and subsequently by Haim in 1719.

68. (V). Third brass—On obverse: covered head of *Astarte*. On reverse: a crab, or the summer solstice.

69. Besides these five Phœnico-Maltese coins, there are some others doubtful, or still disputed, amongst which are included four anepigraphic found in Magar, in the old Carthage, by Capt. Humbert of the Dutch Royal Navy, bearing the head of *Astarte* on obverse, as in I, II, and III, coins; and, on reverse, three ears of corn, 'presumed by F. Carroni to mean the fertility of Malta; and the one published by Eckhel, having a crab and three Phœnician characters on obverse, and a winged *galerus* surrounded by a crown of laurels, on reverse.

#### CLASS VI.

##### **Phœnician remains in the Maltese idiom.**

70. It has long been a *vexata quæstio* amongst Oriental Scholars, whether the language at present spoken in Malta and Gozo be a Phœnician monument, still retaining the old grammatical structure, the roots and organic inflections of words, and considerable remains of Phœnician, or Punic, diction amidst numerous foreign accessions of words and phrases; or, whether it be a mere Arabic jargon, bequeathed by the Saracens in the 200 years' period, 870-1090, of the Arabs' rule in these islands.

71. The Phœnician language was still spoken after the conquests of Alexander the Great, in its native country, Phœnicia. Gesenius, book IV, ch. I, § 5, surmises, that it began to give way there to the Greek in the Era of the Seleucidæ, as the issue of bilingual coins, Phœnician and Greek, in Syria, dates from Antiochus IV. But it still lingered on up to the Antonines, A.D. 173, as several autonomous coins of Phœnician towns, of an epoch posterior to the Seleucidæ, seem to prove.

In Cilicia, the Phœnician tongue previously superseded by the Persian under the Darii, and in Cyprus, yielded to the Greek not much after the conquests of Alexander.

In Sardinia, in Sicily, in Cossyra (Pantellaria), and other islands round Sicily, the Phœnician language remained side by side with the Greek, and in Spain together with the Latin, up to Tiberius, or the earliest Augusti.

It was in Africa, not only in the Carthaginian *Ager*, but from Tripoli and Leptis to the pillars of Hercules, that the Phœnician or Punic was longer spoken. Gesenius, book IV, ch. I, and Munter, "De Primordiis Eccl. Afr.," successfully prove, on the authority of St. Cyprian and St. Augustin who themselves spoke Punic, of Arnobius, and of Procopius, "De Rebus Vandalicis," the last of whom was the Secretary of Belisarius in the war against the Vandals in Africa, in 534, that it was there still used in the 6th century A.C. Having, thus, outlived the Vandalic invasion in Africa, the Punic language could not have been superseded in its own country but by an akin language, that of the Arab invaders, who definitively settled in Africa under the Ommyah Caliphs, at the end of the 7th century, and that even after a certain length of time.

Gesenius, on this point, excludes from Africa the islands of Malta, apparently included by him with the islands of Sicily, in which belief, I think, he is mistaken. (There can be no doubt, that, up to the earliest Augusti, the language spoken in the islands of Malta by the natives was Phœnician, or Punic; and that it did not stand, then, side by side with either the Greek or the Latin, as in the islands of Sicily and in Spain, the natives having been styled *Barbari*, in reference to their language, by St. Luke, "Acts of the Apostles" ch. XXVIII. This is, further, directly confirmed by Diodorus Siculus, book V, "*Melita insula Phœnicum colonia*," and by Strabo, book VI, "*Ad hæc usque tempora Europæ adjacentes insulas Phœnices incolunt*:" and both Diodorus and Strabo are of the Augustan age. In the posterior ævum, we have no grounds whatever to presume, that either Greek, or Latin, prevailed upon the language of the natives. Quintinus, both in his "Descriptio Melitæ" and his "Epistola ad Sophum," in 1533, records, that he saw several tablets in Malta



with Phœnician characters, bearing some points as the Hebrew ones. Even in some of the Phœnico-Maltese inscriptions, published by Prince Torremuzza, the characters are to be seen provided with such points. The assertion of Quintinus troubled Gesenius, as those points could not be but the vowel-points, first employed by the writers of the Massorah with the Hebrew characters, between the sixth and eighth century A.C., and subsequently adopted in all the old Oriental languages. The expedient taken by Gesenius, book I, ch. III, § 39, to doubt the existence of the inscriptions mentioned by Quintinus on account of these points, after having defended their genuineness, (*Vide* No. 56), will not do, as the inscriptions provided with vowel-points referred to by Quintinus, and those reported by Torremuzza, simply show that they were incised after the 6th and 7th century A.C. But it must, besides, be implicitly admitted by Gesenius himself, and the others who are for the Arabic origin and growth of the Maltese idiom, that up to the 9th century the Phœnician or Punic was still spoken in Malta, otherwise it could not have borne an extensive interpolation and thorough change, within 200 years, but from an akin language.

In Sicily and its islands, invaded by the same race in the beginning of the 9th century, under the Abassid Califs, for the same length of time, and under the same circumstances, no such supersession of the vernacular by the Arabic language has taken place. Consequently, a thorough, or considerable, or partial, supersession of the Phœnician or Punic language by the Arabic in the islands of Malta may have begun in the 10th century, and have been completed, after the expulsion of the Arabs in 1090, by intercourse and trade with the African shores of the Mediterranean, of which the Arabs had become now permanent masters.

72. Unfortunately, no records belonging to the Arabic period of Malta have been recovered. What we traditionally know, is: —

That the natives, during the occupation of these islands



by the Saracens, formed centres of their own in certain localities, as in *Wied-er-Rum*, *Guedet-er-Rum*, &c., and in those mentioned in No. 24, distant from Medina, the old town Melita so called by the Arabs, and from the promontory on which Castel St. Angelo was, according to the testimony of Luis del Marmol, built by them, as well as from *Shgharet Mewia*, on a portion of which site Valletta is erected, from *Hal-Kadi*, and probably from *Ghain-Kadi*, the place of the rape of the damsel of the Dingli family of casal Siggieui in 1565, mentioned by Bosio, and also from other places where the invaders settled;

That, Manas, the last of the Apostolic series of Bishops of the Church of Malta preceding the invasion of these islands by the Saracens, having been taken prisoner and loaded with chains together with Sophronius the Bishop of Syracuse, as related by the Monk Theodosius in his letter to Archdeacon Leo, the natives deprived of Bishops for 220 years, up to Monsignor Gualtieri the Bishop appointed by Count Roger the Norman, held their religious gatherings in the old Catacombs during all that period;

That the few Greeks then remaining, after the Byzantine period, were allowed to dwell in a state of bondage in the quarters of Medina, near *Bieb-el-Gharrekin* (the gate of the Greeks), under the surveillance of the Arabs;

That, when Count Roger the Norman, in 1090, landed in *Migra-ferha*, the natives met him triumphantly with the acclamations of *Kyrie eleison*, and that, through their efforts, he was able to besiege the Saracens in Medina, and compel them to quit these islands; and

That in 1120, about 30 years after their expulsion, the Arabs, who were on certain conditions allowed to remain in Malta, at *Kala tal Bahria*, in attempting to reconquer the island, were bravely fought by the natives, aided by Roger the Count of Sicily and son of Roger the Norman, at *Ghain-el-Klieb* (the fountain of the dogs), thus named in their detestation.

These circumstances, I believe, fairly prove the *modus vivendi* of the natives with the Saracens.

73. Having premised these facts, I now proceed to report on the philological controversy about the origin and nature of the Maltese idiom, in which controversy, amongst others, Scaliger, Reinesius, Causabonus, Walton, Bochart, Majus, Boisgelin, De Sacy, Vassalli, Agius, Tychsenius, T. G. Auton, and Gesenius, were deeply interested. Of all these writers, I shall only quote the principal ones.

Joannes Quintinus, one of the Auditors of Villiers De L'Isle-Adam, the first Grand Master of the Knights of St. John, when these Knights took possession of the islands of Malta, in his "Descriptio Melitæ" (Grævii "Thes. Sicil." fol. XV), and in his "Epistola ad Sophum," dated 1533, was the first to observe "that the Maltese idiom, then spoken in the group of the Malta " islands, nothing or very little differed from the old one; and " that the Maltese could understand many of the Punic words " of Hannon in Pœnulo of Plautus, of Avicenna, and similar " others, though their language could not be written in Latin " characters, and much less be uttered by others but by the " natives themselves." So far Quintinus, who missed to observe that Avicenna was an Arab Philosopher of the 10th century, and not Punic.

Bochart, in "Canaan" book I, ch. 26, and Gesenius, "Scrip. Phœniciæ," book IV, ch. I, on the assertion of Quintinus remark, that were this the case, it would be desirable that some Hebrew Scholar should call at Malta "*qui inter Punici sermonis reliquias* " *expiscari conaretur quæ ad Hebrææ linguæ illustrationem pertinent.*"

74. Hen. Majus, Professor of Oriental languages in the University of Jesse, published in 1718 the "Specimen linguæ Punicæ in hodierna lingua Melitensium superstitis" (Burmanni "Thes. Sic." fol. XV). This author endeavours to prove from a number of examples, and from the Maltese numeration, that many Maltese words have Hebrew roots, that the Phœnician variation in pronouncing them is simply due to vowels, which is the case in old Oriental languages; and that in the Maltese idiom

there are considerable relics of Punic diction, showing still its semi-Punic nature. Father Fabriey and Mons. Bres assert, "that Majus proved evidently the accord of the Maltese language " with the Punic."

The "Lexidia," brought forward by Majus, I shall collect and arrange, together with those by Vassalli, in a short Lexicon appended to No. 77.

With reference to the Maltese numeration, Majus asserts that both the names, the desinence, and the system, agree with the Chaldaic and Hebrew forms. A simple comparison of the names shows that the Maltese words, expressing the numbers (*Vide* No. 77), are made of consonants proceeding from similar roots; and the desinence in *Aleph* (an unspirated *Ah*) of the numbers from 3 to 10, and in *in* (a *Jod* and a *Nun*) of the numbers from 20 to 99, are purely Chaldaic forms, different from the Hebrew ones ending in *im* which is the general desinence of the plural in Hebrew. Majus makes three exceptions, *i.e.*, that of the number 2 which he says is *Thei*, ignoring that we say, likewise, *Thein*; that of the numbers from 11 to 19 ending in *ash*, a form peculiar to the Maltese numeration; and that of *Uihed*, number 1, and *Elf*, number 1000, which are Hebrew forms.

In the system of numeration, the analogy of the Maltese with the Hebrew is still more striking. The cardinal numbers have two forms, one for the absolute series, which is indefinite; and another for the numbers from 2 to 10 when they are accompanied with a noun, just as in Hebrew, *Erbgha*, *Hamsa*, *Sitta*, &c., are used absolutely, and *Erbagh*, *Hames*, *Sitt*, when in company of a noun. The series of the ordinal numbers in Maltese is also, as in Hebrew, limited to numbers from 1 to 10.

Another analogy is the Maltese indication of the days of the week up to Thursday by the cardinal series of numbers, and not by the ordinal numbers as stated by Arago: thus, in Maltese, Sunday is called the *One* of the week, just as in the vulgate translation of the Hebrew "Una Sabbati." This system is, however, equally common to the Arabs, though they make generally the word *Joum*,



Day, precede the number. Besides, the 6th day of the week in Maltese is called *Gimgha*, the *Gathering*, as it is in Arabic; and *Gimgha* is also the name of the whole week, just as in Arabic, while in Hebrew the week is named after the 7th day, according to the text of St. Luke "*bis jejuno in Sabbato*" and St. Mark "*Una Sabbati.*"

The names of the months in Maltese are, at present, used according to the Roman style.

Upon this last analogy, however, I have to observe, that it is difficult to understand, that the Phœnician or Punic Maltese held that system in reckoning the days of the week, at least before the establishment of Christianity in these islands. Indeed, the system of the Egyptians in naming the days of the week, which is by the bye the system of all Western nations, was grounded on the consecration of the old seven planets, *i.e.*, the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, to the 24 hours of the day, each day bearing the name of the planet presiding over the first hour, as Dion Cassius, in 229 A.D., gleaned from the "*Egyptian Mysteries.*" From this reckoning, the actual arrangement of the days of the week ensues, which is quite different from the, then, acknowledged order of the planets with respect to their distance from the earth. Now, the Phœnicians had in common with the Egyptians the worship of the heavenly bodies.

75. The most learned advocate of the Punic nature of the Maltese idiom was Mr. A. Vassalli, a Maltese, who, in his "*Mylsen Phœnico-Punicum,*" published in Rome in 1791, took great pains to demonstrate, by a long list of words and phrases, the affinity and analogy of the Maltese idiom with the Oriental languages born of the Chaldaic, in the roots and inflections of words, in the meaning, and utterance, though it be at present mixed up with many accessions from the Arabic. Vassalli, in a subsequent edition somewhat modified his opinion. The same Vassalli is, further, the author of the following works: "*Ktyb yl Klym Malti,*" a Maltese-Latin-Italian Dictionary, Rome, 1796;



“Grammatica della Lingua Maltese,” Malta, 1827; “Motti, Aforismi, e Proverbi Maltesi, raccolti, interpretati, e di note filologiche corredati,” Malta, 1828.

76. Mr. Amabile Preca, in a very interesting little work, “Saggio intorno alla lingua Maltese come affine dell’Ebraico” published in Malta in 1880, illustrates very clearly some of the grammatical analogies of the Maltese language with the Hebrew and Chaldaic, referred to by Vassalli. I append here a specimen of the principal examples.

ANALOGICAL INFLECTIONS AFFECTING THE PLURAL NUMBER  
OF NOUNS, &c.

The desinence of the plural of masculine nouns in Hebrew is *Im*, as *Melach* King, *Melachim* Kings. In the Chaldaic and Maltese, especially in the adjectives, passed participles, and verbal nouns, the form in *In* is very common, as *Taieb* Good, *Taiebin*; *Kaddix* Saint, *Kaddixin*; *Barri* a Bull, *Barrin*; *Mghallem* Teacher, *Mghallmin*.

The plural of feminine nouns in Hebrew ends in *Ot*, in the Maltese the most common form is in *Jet*, as *Bniet*, Daughters; *Bakriet*, Cows; *Ghidiet*, Kids.

The form of the dual number in Hebrew and Chaldaic is *Aim*, as *Benaim*, two Sons, from *Bcn*. In Maltese is *Ein*, as *Battein*, a couple of Eggs, *Hbistein* a couple of Loaves.

THE ANALOGY IN THE FORM AND USE OF SUFFIXES to nouns and verbs, to point out the possessive and personal pronouns, is very striking in both languages, as *Ragleun*, *Raglah*, in Hebrew, *Riglcina* *Rigleiha*, in Maltese, our feet, her feet; *Ahi*, *Ahechem*, in Hebrew; *Hia*, *Hucom*, in Maltese, my brother, your brothers; *Ieberekha*, he blesses her; *Ibierkeck*, he blesses you.

THE FORM OF THE POSSESSIVE CASE is alike, both in Hebrew and Maltese; for instance, in Hebrew *Beit Jaghakob*, *Scem Jehova*, *Esbagh Elohim*; in Maltese *Beit Jacob*, *Isem Alla*, *Saba Alla*; the house of Jacob, the name of God, the finger of God.

Both in Hebrew and Maltese, the root of the verb is the third person masculine singular of the perfect tense of the Latins, which may be considered the only tense of the Maltese and Hebrew verbs; as in Hebrew *Farak*, in Maltese *Fàrrak*, he crushed. The inflections of this tense exhibit great analogy, both with respect to the persons, gender, and number of persons, in Hebrew and Maltese.

The future and present tenses, grammatically speaking, are wanting both in Hebrew and in Maltese: the future is, generally, expressed by an adverb of time, or by the locution itself; and the *Benoni* (present participle) of the Hebrew is made to supply very often the present tense, just as well in Maltese, *i.e.*, *Iena mieshi*, I am walking; *Ahna mieshiin*, we are walking; *Ua riekeb*, he is riding; *Uma riekbin*, they are riding.

Another striking analogy is very apparent in the use of the four Hebrew prepositions, formed by the consonants B. C. L. M.

B in Maltese, represented by B' or F' joined with nouns, means *with*, *in*, or *by*, as *B'-shofteja*, with my lips; *F'-kalbi*, in my heart; *B'-inhar*, by day.

C, represented by the Maltese *Chif*, in the sense of *as soon as* when joined with a verb, for instance, *Chif komt*, as soon as I rose up; and when with a noun, in the sense of *as much as*, for instance, *Chif hnientech*, as much as your mercy; *Chif kalbec*, as your heart prompts you.

L, accompanying a verb, means *when*, *i.e.* *La nasal*, when I arrive.

M, a contraction of *Min*, is equivalent to the English *from*, *i.e.* Hebrew *Min-mizrah Shemesh*, Maltese *Min-zerniek Ish-shemsh*, from the rising of the sun.

77. The following comparative Lexicon of specimens of Maltese, Chaldaic, Syrian, and Hebrew, words and diction, is compiled from Vassalli's "Mylsen Phœnico Punicum," from Majus, and from the interesting little book of Mr. Preca.

## § 1. Parts of the body.

Maltese	Hebrew, or Chaldaic	English
Chiluiet	<i>Chiliót</i>	Loins, or Kidnies
Dakna	<i>Zakán</i>	Chin
Demb	<i>Zanáb</i>	Tail
Demgha	<i>Dimghah</i>	Tear, or Drop
Demm	<i>Dám</i>	Blood
Difer	<i>Thifer</i>	Nail
Drih	<i>Zerogha</i>	Arm
Fomm	<i>Fum</i>	Mouth, or Aperture
Ghadma	<i>Ghazma</i>	Bone
Ghain	<i>Ghéin</i>	Eye
Ghârkub	<i>Ghékéb</i>	Heel
Gisem	<i>Ghism</i>	Body
Halib	<i>Heleb</i>	Milk
Heden	<i>Hezen</i>	Bosom, or Lap
Id	<i>Jád</i>	Hand
Karn	<i>Kerèn</i>	Horn
Lsien	<i>Lexón</i>	Tongue
Naghal	<i>Naghal</i>	Hide
Ras	<i>Ros</i>	Head
Rigel	<i>Righel</i>	Foot
Sabagh	<i>Ezbágh</i>	Finger
Sinna	<i>Xin</i>	Tooth
Uirk	<i>Erèk</i>	Thigh
Xaghar	<i>Seghàr</i>	Hair
Xoffa	<i>Safah</i>	Lip

## § 2. Relationship.

Bint, Bniet	<i>Bát, Banót</i>	Daughter, Daughters
Hia	<i>Ahi</i>	My Brother
Haten	<i>Hotén</i>	Son or Father in law
Iben	<i>Bén</i>	Son
Nisa (plur.)	<i>Ixxáh</i> (sing.)	Women
Oht	<i>Ahót</i>	Sister
Omm	<i>Im</i>	Mother

## § 3. Animals.

Maltese	Hebrew, or Chaldaic	English
Bakar	<i>Bákár</i>	Cows
Bhima	<i>Behemáh</i>	Beast
Frat	<i>Farót</i>	Bullocks
Gemel	<i>Ghemál</i>	Camel
Ghasafar	<i>Zifór</i>	Birds
Ghidi	<i>Ghedi</i>	Kid
Hanzir	<i>Hazír</i>	Pig
Hmar	<i>Hamór</i>	Ass
Kelb	<i>Keleb</i>	Dog

## § 4. Natural Products.

Basal	<i>Bezal-ím</i>	Onions
Bittih	<i>Battih-ím</i>	Bread-melons
Deheb	<i>Zaháb</i>	Gold
Dollighat	<i>Dolghat</i>	Water-melons
Gheneb	<i>Ghanáb</i>	Grapes
Il-ma	<i>Ma</i>	Water
Kubrit	<i>Kiprit</i>	Sulphur
Leus	<i>Lúz</i>	Almond
Luk	<i>Làh</i>	A Poplar tree
Melh	<i>Melah</i>	Salt
Mishun	<i>Massun</i>	Hot water
Morr	<i>Mòr</i>	Myrrh
Rummien	<i>Rimmón</i>	Pomegranates
Tgham	<i>Dagán</i>	Wheat
Tina	<i>Tenáh</i>	Fig
Tuffieh	<i>Tefuh</i>	Apples
Zbul	<i>Xibol</i>	Corn-ears
Zeit (Zebbug)	<i>Zait</i>	Oil (Olive)
Zerrigha	<i>Zaragh</i>	Seed

## § 5. Other Substantives.

Armla	<i>Almarah</i>	Widow
Belt	<i>Belt</i>	Town



Maltese	Hebrew, or Chaldaic	English
Berka	<i>Berakah</i>	Lightning
Bir	<i>Ber</i>	Well
Cheucba	<i>Cochebah</i>	Star
Dabra	<i>Deber</i>	Ulcer
Dell	<i>Zel</i>	Shade, or Shadow
Dueira	<i>Dura</i>	Small country house
Eghamara	<i>Ghamorah</i>	Dwelling, or house furniture
Fahma	<i>Fehmah</i>	Charcoal
Gebel	<i>Gebal</i>	Mount, or Hill
Ghabra	<i>Ghapar</i>	Dust
Gharm	<i>Gharm</i>	Heap
Ghidma	<i>Ghadma</i>	A Bite
Ghzira	<i>Ghezira</i>	Island
Haja	<i>Hajat</i>	Life
Hasba	<i>Mahsebah</i>	Thought
Haten	<i>Hatten</i>	Ring
Hena	<i>Hena</i>	Delight, Joy, or Consolation
Holma	<i>Halom</i>	Dream
Hsad	<i>Hsod</i>	Harvest
Jum	<i>Jom</i>	Day
Ilbies	<i>Lebosc</i>	Dress, or Clothing
Kabar	<i>Keber</i>	Grave
Katla	<i>Ketel</i>	Slaughter
Kul-jum	<i>Kul-jom</i>	Every day
Lehia	<i>Lehi</i>	Chin, or Beard
Leila	<i>Lailah</i>	Night, or Evening
Meut	<i>Mauet</i>	Death
Mhabba	<i>Ahabah</i>	Love, Attachment
Mnara	<i>Menorah</i>	Hand-Lamp
Mulej	<i>Melach</i>	King, Lord
Muna	<i>Muna</i>	Storing, Victuals
Nar	<i>Nurah</i>	Fire
Rabat	<i>Rabbot</i>	Capital-town, or Suburb

Maltese	Hebrew, or Chaldaic	English
Rehma	<i>Rehem</i>	Mercy
Riek	<i>Rak</i>	Spit, or Spittle
Rih	<i>Ruah</i>	Wind
Sabar	<i>Sabar</i>	Patience
Saruan	<i>Sarbat</i>	Wide-breeches
Sellum	<i>Sullam</i>	Ladder
Sema	<i>Samah</i>	Heaven
Sena	<i>Senath</i>	Year
Shemsh	<i>Shemesh</i>	Sun
Shitla	<i>Scotul</i>	A Plant
Sighat	<i>Saghta</i>	Hours
Silg	<i>Seleg</i>	Snow
Sliem	<i>Salem</i>	Good health (a greeting)
Zift	<i>Zofat</i>	Pitch
Zmien	<i>Zeman</i>	Time

## § 6. Adjectives.

Aghuar	<i>Ghauer</i>	Squint-eyed
Ahhar	<i>Ahor</i>	Last
Belgha	<i>Balah</i>	Silly
Fkir	<i>Ifkir</i>	Poor, or Needy
Ghali	<i>Eloah</i>	High
Gharuien	<i>Gherúm</i>	Naked
Hami	<i>Ham</i>	Heated, or Hot
Ihor	<i>Ahori</i>	Another
Iltim	<i>Jatom</i>	Orphan
Jebes	<i>Jebex</i>	Hard
Kaddis	<i>Kaddish</i>	Saint
Karghi	<i>Keragh</i>	Bold-headed
Karib	<i>Karob</i>	Near, or Relative
Kbir	<i>Kebir</i>	Great
Lebhien	<i>Lebonah</i>	Not quite awake, Slumbering
Lemini	<i>Jemin</i>	Right side, and also Right-handed

Maltese	Hebrew, or Chaldaic	English
Mielah	<i>Melàh</i>	Salty, or Bitter
Sakui	<i>Saki</i>	Watery
Tajeb	<i>Tob</i>	Good
Teumi	<i>Thumi</i>	Twin
Zghir	<i>Zaghir</i>	Small

## § 7. Personal Pronouns.

Iena	<i>Ani</i>	I
Int	<i>Attah, At</i>	Thou
Hu	<i>Hu</i>	He
Hi	<i>Hi</i>	She
Ahna	<i>Anu (or Anahnu)</i>	We
Intom	<i>Attem, Atten</i>	You
Huma	<i>Hem, Hen</i>	They
Lili	<i>Li</i>	To me
Minni	<i>Mimmenni, or Minni</i>	From me
Minnchem (mincom)	<i>Mimmcem</i>	From you
Bichem (bicom)	<i>Bachem</i>	With you

## § 8. Numbers.

Uihed	<i>Ehad</i>	One
Tnein	<i>Xenaim</i>	Two
Tlieta	<i>Xeloxáh</i>	Three
Erbgha	<i>Arbghah</i>	Four
Hamsa	<i>Hamiawah</i>	Five
Sitta	<i>Xixwah</i>	Six
Sebgha	<i>Xibghab</i>	Seven
Tmienia	<i>Xemonáh</i>	Eight
Disgha	<i>Tiaghah</i>	Nine
Ghaxra	<i>Ghasaráh</i>	Ten
Ghoxrin	<i>Ghesrim</i>	Twenty
Tlietin	<i>Xeloxim</i>	Thirty
Erbghin	<i>Arbaghim</i>	Forty
Hamsin	<i>Xamiawim</i>	Fifty
Sittin	<i>Xixxim</i>	Sixty

Maltese	Hebrew, or Chaldaic	English
Sebghin	<i>Xibghim</i>	Seventy
Tmienin	<i>Xemonim</i>	Eighty
Disghin	<i>Tixghim</i>	Ninety
Mia	<i>Meah</i>	One hundred
Mitein	<i>Mataim</i>	Two hundred
Elf	<i>Elef</i>	One thousand

## § 8. Ordinal Numbers.

L' euuel	<i>Rexon, Rexit</i>	First
It-tieni	<i>Xeni</i>	Second
It-tielet	<i>Xelixi</i>	Third
Ir-rabagh	<i>Rebighi</i>	Fourth
Il hames	<i>Hamixi</i>	Fifth
Is-sitt	<i>Xexxi</i>	Sixth
Is-sebagh	<i>Xebighi</i>	Seventh
It-tmien	<i>Xemini</i>	Eighth
Id-disagh	<i>Texighi</i>	Ninth
Il-ghaxar	<i>Ghasiri</i>	Tenth

## § 9. Verbs.

Balagh	<i>Balagh</i>	To swallow
Dafar	<i>Jitferu</i>	To twist, or dress hair
Dahnu	<i>Tahanu</i>	To grind
Dfint (hbeit)	<i>Zaphanti</i>	To hide
Gizz	<i>Giaz</i>	To shear
Hedel	<i>Jahdelu</i>	To grow stiff, to become motionless
Jeclu	<i>Joclu</i>	They eat
Jinheba	<i>Jithabah</i>	To conceal one self
Jirghexu	<i>Jirghaxu</i>	To disturb one self
Jtùk	<i>Ghatkah</i>	To persevere
Kabbar (difen)	<i>Kabar</i>	To bury
Kaddes	<i>Jekaddex</i>	To sanctify
Kam	<i>Jakam</i>	To rise
Kara	<i>Keri</i>	To read



Maltese	Hebrew, or Chaldaic	English
Karab	<i>Kareb</i>	To approach
Karat	<i>Keret</i>	To hew
Kiteb	<i>Chtib</i>	To write
Lakkat	<i>Jelakket</i>	To collect, to pick up
Mesah	<i>Mescah</i>	To dust, to wipe
Nciahad	<i>Necahéd</i>	To negative
Nefah	<i>Jiphah</i>	To blow
Tilghak	<i>Lakok</i>	To lick
Tmellah	<i>Timlah</i>	To salt
Samagh	<i>Jixmagh</i>	To listen
Sammar	<i>Samàr</i>	To nail
Xeulah	<i>Jixlah</i>	To cast away in contempt

## § 10. Adverbs, Prepositions, &amp;c.

Barra	<i>Barrah</i>	Outside, Exclusive
Bicri	<i>Bicri</i>	Early
Bla	<i>Bla</i>	Without
Chemmm	<i>Chemmah</i>	How much
Euilla	<i>Vilai, Illu</i>	Perhaps
Imbaght	<i>Baghat</i>	Afterwards
Jalla !	<i>Ahalai !</i>	I wish ! Would to God
Kabel	<i>Kebel</i>	Before
Kuddiem	<i>Kedem</i>	In front
Le	<i>Lo</i>	No
Lein	<i>Elei</i>	Towards
Meta	<i>Matai</i>	When
Moghla	<i>Maghal</i>	Over
Taht	<i>Tahat</i>	Under

## § 11. Dictions.

Alla hanin	<i>Elihaman</i>	God merciful
Alla-ghala-sbactni	<i>Eli la-masabactani</i>	God why hast thou <i>left</i> <i>me behind</i> (forsaken me)
Bierech	<i>Barach</i>	He blessed

Maltese	Hebrew, or Chaldaic	English
Beka	<i>Beka</i>	He wept
Bena	<i>Bana</i>	He built
Derra	<i>Derrah</i>	He dispersed, He cast away
Feda	<i>Fyda</i>	He rescued, He redeemed
Ghakkad	<i>Ghakkad</i>	He tied a knot, He bound together
Jirtema	<i>Itrema</i>	It will be thrown away
Kered	<i>Karat</i>	He destroyed, He annihilated
Myla	<i>Milah</i>	He filled up, He supplied
Rifes	<i>Rifès</i>	He trod under feet
Sâm	<i>Sam</i>	He fasted
Somt	<i>Somt</i>	I fasted

As modern Oriental philologists take so much pains to glean scattered relics of Phœnician and Punic diction from Greek classics, as from Athenæus, Dioscorides, Philo Byblius, Damascius, and Hesychius, and from the Latins, as from Quintilianus, Servius, Priscianus, Appulejus, and Augustinus, and to compare them, in order to catch their recondite meaning, there is, perhaps, room for the desirability asserted, but not seriously meant, by Bochart and Gesenius of some Oriental scholar digging out some Phœnician, or Punic, dictions and phrases from the Maltese idiom, and arranging a good Maltese Dictionary and Grammar. With the exception of the Maltese Dictionary and Grammar of M. A. Vassalli which, however, are very scanty, those extant of Canon Panzavecchia, Vella, Falzon, &c., deserve, hardly, the name.

78. To exemplify a comparison between the present and the old Maltese diction, it is worth while trying a Maltese transliteration of the Maltese Phœnician inscriptions from their Hebrew writing as given by Gesenius, in order to see whether any Phœnician relics be still extant in the present vernacular, and how far it may have been estranged from the old diction. This

may be easily and safely done, with the help of the Lexicon appended by Gesenius to the Phœnician inscriptions, book IV, ch. II. In the following transliterations I have but slightly altered the places and diction adopted by Mr. Preca, and the Italics point out the Maltese words still in use, corresponding to the Phœnician.

## MELITENSIS PRIMA.

*Commemorating the vow of two Candelabra to Hercules.*

- v. 1. Le-Adonei-nu, <sup>(1)</sup> Le Melek-art, Baghal Zor.  
*Lil-Sid-na*, <sup>(2)</sup> *Lil-Mulei-l'art*, <sup>(2)</sup> *Ghali ta Zor*. <sup>(3)</sup>  
 To Lord our, To the King of the earth, High of Zor (Great of Tyre).  
 Isc <sup>(4)</sup> Noder <sup>(5)</sup>  
*Bniedem* *Iuighed*  
 Man Vowing (consecrating)
- v. 2. Ghabd-ech <sup>(6)</sup> Ghabd-osir, U-ahi Osirsciamar,  
*Ghliem-ech* <sup>(7)</sup> *Ghabd-osir*, *U-hia* *Osirsciamar*,  
 Servant-thy (is thy servant) Abdosir, and my brother Osirsciamar,
- v. 3. Scenei <sup>(8)</sup> Benei Osirsciamar, Ben Ghabd-osir.  
*Tnei* <sup>(8)</sup> *Bin* *Osirsciamar*, *Ben* *Ghabd-osir*.  
 Both Sous of Osirsciamar, Son of Abdosir.
- Ch-ismagh  
*Ch-ismagh*  
 If he hears
- v. 4. Kolom, Jebarechem.  
*Kliemom*, *Ibierichom*.  
 Their words, May he bless them.

- (1) *Adonei* is, evidently, the Hebrew *Adonai*, Lord; the word substituted to the sacred name of *Jehova*, which no one was permitted to utter in the reading of the Holy Writ.
- (2) *Sid* and *Mulej*, just in the same meaning of the inscription, are still used in the Maltese religious prayers. Comm. Abela, book I, not. I, § 50, states, that the denomination of *Burmula*, one of the cities on the other side of the Great Harbour, is from *Bir-Mula*, Well of the Lord.

- (3) *Ghali* means properly High, but it has still the translate meaning of Great in power, precisely in the sense of the inscription.
- (4) We have not *Isc* for *Bniedem*, though Mr. Preca from the Hebrew feminine *Ixxah* draws *Nisa*, the Maltese word for Women.
- (5) We have no such word in Maltese in this sense ; but we have *Nadar*, to see, to view, from which *Nadur*, the denomination of several eminent localities in Malta and Gozo, is derived, meaning A high place to look out from ; and *Nagh'der*, to pity, to have compassion upon.
- (6) *Ghabd*, though of quite Maltese phonetic structure, is wanting according to Mr. Preca. Still, the word *Ghabd* Servant, and the verb *Ghabad* to adore or venerate, are registered in Vassalli's Dictionary, and there are several places in Malta recording that obsolete word : *Bir Ghabd Alla*, Well of the Servant of God, in the neighbourhood of Krendi ; *Kala tal Ghabid*, Sea-shore of the Servants, in St. Paul's Bay. *Vide* Abela, "Malta Illustrata," book I, not. VII.
- (7) The Maltese word *Ghliem*, Servant, recorded in Vassalli's Dictionary, is still preserved in the phrase *Ghliem-issued*, A negro Slave ; and in the denomination of the following localities, *Ghain Ghliem Alla*, the Fountain of the Servant of God ; *Ghar Ghliem*, Cave of the Servant ; *Bir-el-Ghliem*, Well of the Servant ; and is also still used at Gozo, and in several villages of Malta. The word *Keddej*, adopted by Preca, does not convey the proper meaning of the word Servant, but of Errand-boy.
- (8) The substitution of *Scin* for *Tau* is very frequent in Hebrew, and *Scenei* is just as *Tenei*.

I think, it may be asserted, that this inscription, except two words *Noder* and *Ghabd*, which may have become obsolete, reads fairly well in Maltese.



## MELITENSIS SECUNDA.

*Containing two moral sentences, and recording the burial place  
of Hannibal.*

v. 1.	Heder <i>Hadr'</i> <sup>(2)</sup> The Court-room	Beit <i>el Beit</i> <sup>(3)</sup> of the home	Gholam <i>Ghaldeiem</i> eternal	Keber. <i>El-Kabar.</i> (is) the grave.	Nig-ghal <sup>(1)</sup> <i>T-nizzel</i> He descended into (Hannibal was placed)
x. 2.	Naki <sup>(4)</sup> <i>Mnokki</i> <sup>(4)</sup> Clean	Bi-kelot <sup>(5)</sup> <i>F'-kalat</i> <sup>(5)</sup> cavity		Hazeh. <i>Hedina.</i> in this.	
v. 3.	Ruah <i>Ruh</i> The breadth	Moreph <sup>(6)</sup> <i>el Ghass</i> of laziness (is the)	Em <i>Om</i> Mother	Boschet. <sup>(6)</sup> <i>el Ghaib.</i> of disgrace.	Hani <i>Hena</i> Consolation
v. 4.	Baghal <i>El-Ghali</i> of the High (Hannibal)		Ben <i>Bin</i> Son	Barmelech. <i>Barmelech.</i> of Barmelech.	

(1) There is no word in Maltese akin to *Nig-ghal*, unless that be *T-nizzel* from *Nizzel* to descend.

(2) I think the analogy of *Hadra*, derived from the verb *Hadar*, to assist at rejoicings as at a wedding, with *Heder* is successfully pointed out by Mr. Preca, and thus *Hadra* may mean the retinue of guests at the wedding, which is the present Maltese meaning of the word, or the court or room in which the retinue assemble.

(3) In the present Maltese, *Beit* means the Terrace of the house.

(4) In Maltese the verb *Nakka* means, properly, to peel barley, and to clean; and *Mnokki* is the past participle of that verb. I think, then, *Naki* and *Mnokki* are twins, and their analogy found by Mr. Preca is correct.

(5) The meaning of the Maltese word *Kala* is a small Cove of the sea, and a great many localities, both in Malta and in Gozo have still that denomination: *Kala ta wied-Rumi*, *Kala tal Ghazzenin*, *Kalet Marcu*, &c.

- (6) No words in the present Maltese approach *Moreph* and *Boschet*, which words even phonetically are felt to be strangers, or exotic.

## MELITENSIS TERTIA.

*Commemorating the erection of a pillar by Malchibaal to Hammon.*

v. 1.	Nazab	Malchi-	
	<i>Nasab</i> <sup>(1)</sup>	<i>Malchi-</i>	
	Has placed	Malchi-	
v. 2.	baghal,	Isa	Jam-
	<i>baghal</i> ,	<i>Bniedem</i> <sup>(2)</sup>	<i>Jam-</i>
	baal,	Man	Jam-
v. 3.	lechi, <sup>(3)</sup>	Le	Ba-
	<i>lechi</i> , <sup>(3)</sup>	<i>Lil</i>	<i>Gha-</i>
	lichensis, <sup>(3)</sup>	to	Ba
v. 4.	ghal <sup>(4)</sup>	Hammon,	Aben.
	li	<i>Hami</i> , <sup>(5)</sup>	<i>Bena</i> ?. <sup>(6)</sup>
	al	Hot (the sun god),	Pillar.
v. 5.	Chi	scemogha	
	<i>Chief</i>	<i>samagh</i>	
	Having	listened to	
v. 6.	Col	Debarai. <sup>(7)</sup>	
	<i>Coll</i>	<i>Kelma tighi</i> .	
	All	my words (having granted my prayers).	

- (1) The Maltese verb *Nasab*, the analogy of which with *Nazab* cannot be contended, has two meanings: 1st. To put, to place, as *Nasba tal mithna*, Place of the rest of the mill-stone; *En-tasab fl'art*, He laid himself down on the ground; *Nasab siggiu f' nofs*, He placed a chair in the middle; 2nd. To spread nets, or traps, to catch birds and mice. It is evident in which of the two senses the word *Nasab* is used in this inscription.

- (2) *Vide* note 4, to Melitensis prima.  
 (3) Name of country.  
 (4) *Vide* note 3, to Melitensis prima.  
 (5) *Hami* means heating from *Hema*, to heat, or to bake. In this place, however, it is a proper noun pointing out Ham, the son of Noah.  
 (6) Gesenius translated the word *Aben* for a Stone. In Maltese the only word akin to *aben* is *bena*, he built, the Maltese word for Stone being *Hagiar*.  
 (7) It is not of a Maltese coinage.

## MELITENSIS QUARTA.

*Commemorating the erection of a monument by Malkosir to Baal.*

v. 1. Nazab	Malk-	
<i>Nasab</i> <sup>(1)</sup>	<i>Malk</i>	
Placed (erected)	Malk-	
v. 2. Osir,	Isc <sup>(2)</sup>	Sc . . . . ,
<i>Osir</i> ,	<i>Bniedem</i>	<i>Sc</i> . . . . ,
Osiridis,	Man	S . . . . ,
v. 3. . . . .	Le Baghal	
	<i>Lil Ghali</i> <sup>(3)</sup>	
	To Baal	
v. 4. Eben,		
<i>Bena</i> , <sup>(4)</sup>		
Pillar,		
v. 5. Neder	A-	
<i>Wedghiet</i> <sup>(5)</sup>	A-	
Vow	of	
v. 6. bi. <sup>(6)</sup>		
<i>bi</i> ( <i>missieri</i> ).		
my father.		

(1) *Vide* note 1, to Melitensis tertia.

- (2) *Vide* note 4, to Melitensis prima.
- (3) *Vide* note 3, to Melitensis prima.
- (4) *Vide* note 4, to Melitensis tertia.
- (5) *Vide* note 5, to Melitensis prima.
- (6) *Ab* in Maltese is understood very well for father, and *Abi* for my father, though never used. The prefix *Bu* to the names of a great many localities, and surnames of families, both in Malta and Gozo, as *Bu-sendi*, *Bu-leben*, *Bu-gebbu*, *Bu-gharu*, *Bu-dak*, *Buhagiar*, *Butigieg*, &c., is understood by Abela, to be a shortening of *Abu*, father of.

79. One of my predecessors in the Public Library, the indefatigable Canon Gio. Pietro Francesco Agius de Soldanis, was a strong supporter of the Phœnician nature and structure of the Maltese idiom. He wrote a considerable number of manuscripts, and published in Rome, in 1750, a small Grammar and a project of a Pœno-Maltese Dictionary. In 1757, he published in Rome the “*Annone Cartaginese*,” a Maltese transliteration of the Punic and Syrian verses of Plautus in *Pœnulo*, scene I, act V, as a Punic monument of Malta.

The Maltese transliteration of Canon Agius is made out from the transcription of the verses of Plautus in Roman characters, as those verses do not exist in the Punic writing, and the transliteration of the Canon, whether correct or not, needs not any translation to make it intelligible to the Maltese natives.

As the Roman transcriptions of those verses have suffered many alterations, the Canon chose those of Bochart, Lambinus, Taubman, and Petit, for his transliteration in Maltese. I must observe with Hælius, in order to justify to some extent Canon Agius without sharing the responsibility of his Maltese transliteration of the Punic scene of Plautus, that the Latin transcribers “often changed what they did not understand, and “transcribed in their own characters words which they could not “utter.” Accordingly, for the gutturals *Ayin* and *He*, which in the



transliteration of the Canon are represented by *gn* and an aspirated *h*, the Roman transcriptors used, respectively, *Y* or *II*, and *C* or *CH*; for the sibilants *Zain* and *Scin*, the Romans wrote an *S*; a *Ghimel*, a *Koph*, a *Caph*, a *Keth*, were equally supplied by *CH*; *Ph* by *ph*, as when they transcribed *Epheta* for *Eftah*, and so on: so that the words of Plautus became so much transfigured, that with great difficulty their correct utterance may be found. To this must be added the want of a proper separation of words, and of hyphens.

For the intelligence of the transliteration of Canon Agius of the first ten verses of Plautus in *Pœnulo*, scene I, act V, which according to Gesenius are Punic, the other six verses being Libyo-Phœnicians, a knowledge of the subject as understood by the Canon must precede, as follows:

Jacon, a Carthaginian, whose son, Agorastocles, seven years of age, was stolen by a ruffian, dying through grief, bequeathed his wealth to his brother Hanno. The only two daughters of Hanno, the one five years and the other four years old, and their nurse, met the same fate. According to the mind of the Canon, the first five verses are a pathetic invocation of Hanno to the Deity, believing his nephew, whom he calls his son, and his two daughters to be still alive, and praying for their welfare. The sixth and seventh are an apostrophe to Hanno's nephew. From the eighth to the tenth is an interlocation between Hanno, one of his daughters and their nurse, whom Hanno fancies to see, requesting the presence of the other daughter.

The Maltese transliteration is in Italics.

v. 1. N'yth,	Alomin,	Vallono <sup>(1)</sup>	Sechorath, <sup>(1)</sup>
<i>N'gheit</i> ,	<i>Allat</i> ,	<i>Uelli-hom</i>	<i>Zgharat</i> ,
I say (I pray).	(Ye) Gods,	return	the urchins,
Iis-macon,	Sith.		
<i>Is-mahhom</i> ,	<i>Sid</i> .		
Listen to them,	Lord,		

v. 2. Chi-mla-chai ?	Iythmu	Mit-slia,
<i>Hia-le-hai ?</i>	<i>Etemghu</i>	<i>Mit-sliem,</i>
(is) my brother (not living) ?	hope	a hundred welfare,

Mid darba rehem.	Iemsci,
<i>Mit-darba-rehem,</i>	<i>Imsci,</i>
a hundred times mercy.	proceed,

v. 3. Li-pho-rcaneth,	Ythbe,	Ith yad
<i>Li-fe-rkenet,</i>	<i>Ghatba,</i>	<i>mit Ghia</i>
In the nooks (of the house),	(on the) threshold,	hundred shouts

U Binut Hai.

*Hu u l' bniet haj.*

He and the girls (are) living.

v. 4. Birua	Rob	Syllohom,	Alomin,
<i>Bi-ruh</i>	<i>Mrobbia</i>	<i>tal-hom,</i>	<i>Allat,</i>
By the soul	nursed	of (their) mother,	(o) Gods,

U Bymisyrtohom.

*U b-missierithom.*

and of their father.

v- 5. Byt-lim	Mothyn,	Y-not,	Othim
<i>Bgheit-l' him</i>	<i>meut-hom,</i>	<i>Ghin-hom,</i>	<i>Ati-hom</i>
Drive away	their death,	help them,	give them

Lech	Anti	Damarchon.
<i>L-hh</i> <sup>(2)</sup>	<i>Ghant</i>	<i>Damarchon.</i>
insist upon	from	Damarcon.

v. 6. Ys	Fideli,	Brum	Tyfeloth.	Yth,
<i>Ghisc</i>	<i>F' Delli,</i>	<i>Mobrum</i>	<i>Tifel.</i>	<i>Gkit,</i>
Live (thou)	under my shadow,	fat (healthy)	boy.	speak,
Chili (?),	Schont	Em	Liphul (?).	
<i>Hajel-li,</i>	<i>Schont</i>	<i>Em</i>	<i>Milfus.</i>	
Fancy to me	what you were,	there	wrapped up with.	

v. 7. Uh Bini,	Amis	Diber	Thim,
<i>Uh? Ebni,</i>	<i>Gham-mek</i> <sup>(4)</sup>	<i>Debber</i> <sup>(5)</sup>	<i>Eltim,</i>
Oh! my son,	Your paternal uncle	vanished	o orphan,
Cuth nu,	Agorastocles.		
<i>Hhutok,</i>	<i>Agorastokles.</i>		
Your sisters,	(too, o) Agorastocles.		

v. 8. Yt,	Hemma	net.	Hi,	Chior
<i>Gheit,</i> <sup>(6)</sup>	<i>Hemma</i>	<i>net.</i>	<i>Hia,</i>	<i>ahiar</i>
Speak thou,	however	all.	My brother,	better

Selli	Choc,	Sithna
<i>Selli</i>	<i>el Huk,</i>	<i>Sidna</i>
Bid welfare	(to) your brother,	our Lord

v. 9. Binni.	Id Chi	Lohi	Elle!
<i>Benna.</i>	<i>Ied-ki</i>	<i>l'ohra?</i>	<i>El-le!</i>
goodness.	Is she	the other one?	Ah no!

Gebukim,	La sibithim?
<i>Gebuha?</i>	<i>Ma sebtuiesc?</i>
Did they convey her?	Did they not find her?

v. 10. Bo Di,	Aly Herayn (?)	Ennuyn.
<i>Boh! Din,</i>	<i>Ghal-hek rait</i>	<i>Ennuwihh.</i>
Puh! this!,	For this reason I saw	weeping.

Naf Lim (?)	Mencar	Lo sem.
<i>Taf-el-Gham</i>	<i>Mkar</i>	<i>me l' esem.</i>
She recognized her uncle	even	from the name.

- (1) *Ot* is the desinence of the plural of feminine nouns.
- (2) Agorastocles, called brother by Hanno.
- (3) *I-lehh* has two significations: 1st. to *demand with insistence*, hence the proverb *el-hieh ghalieb esc-schieh*, the petulant overcomes the avaricious; 2nd. to *flash*, as lightning does.
- (4) *Gham* is a word still frequently used at Gozo and many of the villages of Malta, to mean the father's brother. It is noted in Vassalli's Maltese Dictionary.

- (5) The word at present more used by our villagers to mean *to go away* is *Thaidar*, hence *hadar*, he went away.
- (6) The sense of this verse is very obscure. According to Canon Agius, the first three words are an address to the nurse of his two daughters, one of whom he imagines to see together with the nurse, and the other words contain the answer of the latter.

The sense of the ten Plautine verses given by Canon Agius is very different from that stated by Bochart and Gesenius.

80. One of the most eminent modern Oriental philologists, Gesenius, book IV, ch. I, § 6, admits the existence of words and phrases in the Maltese idiom, having Chaldaic and Hebrew roots and forms, and even a certain analogy of those two languages with the Maltese nearer than to the literal Arabic. But, he observes that many of these words and forms are equally found in the vulgar Arabic, and that the greatest stock of Maltese diction, whilst differing from Hebrew, agrees simply with the Arabic spoken in northern Africa, of which the Maltese is a dialect since the Arabic occupation of these islands in the middle age. He ascribes the pretension of the Punic origin and nature of the Maltese idiom, chiefly, to national vanity of the Islanders. Tychsenius, "Act. Upsal." VII, pag. 88, had, previously to Gesenius, written "*Lingua Punica in insula Melitæ tantas passa est mutationes, ut vix color ei nunc constet neque vultus.*"

Gesenius, book II, ch. IX. "Atlantica inscr.," assumes a sort of injured air in dealing with this question, rightly chagreened as he was for the literary treachery of the Cyrenaica and Atlantica inscriptions, the last of which said to be found in Malta and possessed by a French Military Officer, by which he himself, Hamaker, Scyffarth, and several others, were very nearly caught.

In his "Treatise on the Maltese language," Leipsig, 1810, Gesenius undertakes to evince:

- 1st. That, a great many Arabic words, in their full



consonant forms in the Maltese, exhibit only variety of changes with regard to their vowel signs ;

2nd. That, a good many anomalies as to the consonants are still observable in the Maltese compared with the Arabic, a great many letters assuming a different pronunciation, others assimilating, others are transposed, or omitted, or added, in a variety of instances ;

3rd. That, the frequent compounding of words in the Maltese is common with other Arabic dialects ;

4th. That, the pronunciation of the article, having lost its guttural power in the Maltese, has become extremely light ;

5th. That, the Maltese, like the vulgar Arabic, has no special form for the Accusative singular, and in the Masculine plurals the form of the Objective case is used instead of that of the Nominative. The note *ta* of the Genitive case is particular to the Maltese ;

6th. That, the pronouns in the Maltese compared with Morocco, Egyptian, and Yemen, dialects, present no peculiarities ;

7th. That, the forms of the numerals in the Maltese are apocopated forms of the vulgar Arabic ;

8th. That, the flexions of the verb in the Maltese present some peculiarities from the vulgar Arabic ;

9th. That, the prepositions in the Maltese retain, generally, the same form as in the literal Arabic. The peculiarities of the adverbs, and conjunctions, consist chiefly in their compound forms.

The analogies pointed out by Gesenius are found exemplified in an interesting little work, edited in Malta, in 1838, by the Rev. C. F. Schlienz, a German resident in Malta for more than ten years.

81. Having so far fulfilled my duties as a Reporter, I must state from my own knowledge, that the Maltese colonies on the African shores of the Mediterranean, and the Maltese traders on the shores of the Syrian sea, understand rather easily the colloquial

Arabic there, and in a few weeks intercourse quickly pick up and adopt the Arabic inflections and forms different from their own, which is a telling fact beyond doubt. This facility is not felt, so extensively at least, in the intercourse with the Arab tribes of the interior of those two countries, which may still be considered as a pure Arabic stock without much blood-blending with the prior Phœnician and Punic races, living in Phœnicia and Carthage, and much less with respect to the literal Arabic which is thoroughly foreign to the Maltese. Hence, a great congruity of the Maltese with the vulgar Arabic diction of the northern shores of Africa and western coast of Syria being incontestable, I believe, I am safe in borrowing the next quotation from Baron De Sacy, "Journal des Savans," Avril 1829, pag. 196, namely: "that we must not be surprised, that though a dialect of the Arabic language, the Maltese exhibits in its nomenclature a great analogy with the Syrian, the literal Ethiopic, the Chaldean, even the Hebrew, and consequently also the Phœnician."

The subject of the relationship of the languages, born of the old Semitic trunks, may receive great light from the "Corpus of Semitic inscriptions," of which the first volume devoted to Phœnician inscriptions, edited by M. Renan under the auspices of the French Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, has been just published.

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FORMOSA PHOTO

*Found in Malta.*



GREEK, CARTHAGINIAN, AND ROMAN  
ANTIQUITIES.

82. The approximate date of the first Greek settlement (Ionic) in the islands of Malta, on the authority of Thucydides and Diodorus, (book V, ch. VI), who state that the last Greek emigrations settled in Sicily and the adjacent islands, is about 700 B.C., nearly 58 years after the foundation of Syracuse and the other Greek towns in Sicily, which, in the Arundelian marbles is said to be the III year of the V Olym., 758 B.C. Another Greek colony (Doric), probably, settled a little before the Carthaginian conquest.

The old poet Lycophron, in "Cassandra," states, that Greeks inhabited the island Melita long before the epoch above fixed, namely, shortly after the fall of Troy, the date of which is by Clinton, Hales, and Usher, fixed at B.C. 1183. There is no historical ground to support the assertion of Lycophron, unless he meant to allude to the probable landing of the Greek companions of Ulysses, or other Greeks after the Trojan war, on the shores of these islands.

Homer, whose epoch according to the Chronicle of Paros is 907 B.C., in the seven years wandering of Ulysses, in the V and VI books of the "Odyssey," describes the arrival of the King of Ithaca in the island of Ogygia, the residence of Calypso, and his hospitable reception "*ad ingentem specum post varios casus, post tot discrimina rerum,*" by the Goddess.

Diodorus states that Ulysses, after having lost many of his ships between Scylla and Charybdis, fell with the rest of his companions into the hands of the Phœnicians (probably Maltese), and was taken to the island of Ogygia.

Callimachus, quoted by Strabo, book I, asserts that Ogygia was the island of *Gaulos* (Gozo). The greater number of historians, geographers, and Greek scholars, affirm that it was *Melita* (Malta); and the old poet Lycophron, perhaps, meant the same island when he stated, that Greeks inhabited the island of *Melita*

shortly after the fall of Troy. Rudbeck placed Ogygia in Sweden (!), and De Grave in Ireland (!).

Monsignor Bres, on account of this discrepancy of opinions, rejects them all. In fact, both the sister islands of Malta claim the honour of having been the residence of Calypso. In the island of Gozo, which has the better claim, *Ghar Kaliebes*, the traditional place of the grotto of Calypso, on the crest of the *Shghara* hill facing *el-Ramla*, from which Monsignor Fénélon appears to have borrowed several local circumstances in drawing the picturesque dwelling of Calypso, as described in book I of "Télémaque," is an interesting and vast stalactic cave. In Malta, Father Manduca fancied he had found the vestiges of the Goddess' dwelling in some megalithic ruins at *Benuarrat* or *Saline* harbour, though it would have been more likely, had he pointed out one of the Calypso-like caves, still inhabited, on the declivity of Selmun hill, towards the Melleha valley !

Much as it was, until lately, the subject of dispute which names the two main islands had at the epoch of the Phœnicians, the characters expressing the name of Malta on the Phœnico-Maltese coins not having been then certainly deciphered, a controversy which, I think, I have fairly settled in §§ 52, 53, and 54, it was, nevertheless, beyond question, that *Melita* and *Gaulos*, corrupted into the present names of *Malta* and *Ghaudesh* by the Arabs, were the names by which the two main islands have been known since the early Greek settlement, about 200 years after the Homeric epoch.

In a quotation from Scilax, in "Peryplo Geog." Oxonii, edit. Hudsonii, I have found that the original Greek name of Malta was *Meliti*, which it may have been given to it by the earliest Ionic settlers, and Diodorus, book V, "Bibl. Hist.," Strabo, book VI, and Ptolemy, book V, call it even by that name. It appears that it was converted into *Melitas* by the later Doric settlers, as that name is found in the legend of one of the types of the Græco-Maltese coins, from which the Romans have made *Melita*. It is by some presumed, that Malta was thus called after the Naiad

*Melite*, daughter of Ægæus and mother of Hyllus by Hercules ; others, that it was thus named after the Nymph *Melite* daughter of Nereus and Doris ; and others, that the name is derived from *Meli* the Greek word for honey, for which the renown of Malta is very old, or from *Melitta* a bee.

The original Greek name of Gozo, preserved to us by Diodorus and Ptolemy, is *Gaylos*, an evident Greek transformation of the Phœnician name *Gauel*, § 54.

83. In the island of Malta, the Greeks built an inland town, called *Melita*, after the name of the island, on the plain of the most northern of the *Benjemma* hills, surrounded on the North, East, and West sides, by valleys, through which runs the *Sakkaja* ascent, the South side being bounded by a ditch, the traces of which are still visible (*Vide* “Memo. on the Recent Discoveries at Notabile,” part 2). In its original extent, *Melita* remained the capital town during the Greek, the Carthaginian, the Roman, and Byzantine periods, and was reduced to the present boundaries of Notabile, about one third of its original extent, by the Arabs after A.D. 870. It was still the chief town during the period of the Arabs, the Normans, the Swabians, the Angevins, the Arragonese, and the Grand Masters of St. John up to Pietro del Monte, who, on the 18th March 1571, declared Valletta to be the capital of Malta.

84. In the island of Gozo, according to Diodorus, the Greeks built another town, which, as stated by Ptolemy, 2 tab. Afr., was given the same name as the island “*Glauconis insula et civitas*.” It was built on one of the highest of the hills, inland, commanding Rabato and the surrounding country. Canon Agius refers, that it, originally, extended towards the South over to *Port-rial in Habel ta’ l’Esptar*, to *wara es-sur* near St. *Uistin*, and to *Bieb-el-ghayin* where one of its main gates was ; and, towards the West, up to *Bieb-el-Gharb* ; whilst to the North, to the East, and North West, it was bounded by the valleys of *tal Harrash* and



*ta Ghelmus*. The Arabs reduced its boundaries to the form and extent of a *Castle*, by which name it was called, at least, since the 12th century, as we learn from the old Montaner, in the history of the siege of this town by the Almirante of Sicily, Roger Lauria. A further reduction in the extent of this old town to its present limits by the Engineer Rinaldino was made, after the barbarous devastation by the army of Sinam Pasha in 1551, at the time of Grand Master De Omedes.

85. The Carthaginians held the islands of Malta as a military station, without settling any colony. From the date of the first commercial treaty concluded between Rome, under the Consuls Jun. Brutus and M. Horatius Pulvillus, and Carthage, in 509 B.C., which is the first year of the overthrow of monarchy in Rome, by the terms of which, preserved to us by Polybius, book III, the Carthaginians secured their possessions in Sicily, and prevented the Romans from navigating beyond the Fair Promontory (Cape Bon), though no mention of the islands of Malta is made in that treaty, the date of the Carthaginian conquest of these islands by Navarro, Marquis Barbaro, St. Priest, and Boisgelin, is presumed to be 529 B.C. The more probable date, however, of the Carthaginian conquest is 480 B.C.; and its duration, 264 years. Allowing the Greek race to remain, the Carthaginians substituted their own rule for that of the two Greek Republics then existing in the two islands, and engaged in their long wars with the Romans during this period, the only Carthaginian antiquities they have left in these islands, on which I have to report, are the Punico-Maltese coins.

86. The Romans, having expelled the Carthaginians in 216 B.C., occupied these islands as a military station and not as a colony, for a period of rather more than 640 years. Numerous historical evidences prove, that the Romans lived in perfect accord with the natives, both of Phœnician and Greek stock; a thorough change in the habits of the natives, and even in their names, is observed, during the Roman epoch.







The Maltese, treated as "Confederates and Allies" (Cicero in Verrem, V.), were allowed by the Romans to retain their own laws, and send Ambassadors (*Legati*) to Rome. They were, moreover, at the time of the Cesars ascribed to the Quirine Tribe, and raised, most probably by Hadrian, to the dignity of a Municipality, and were also allowed all rights, employments, and honours of Roman citizenship (*Vide* my Memo. on the "Recent discoveries at Notabile," 1881, §§ 12, 13, and 16).

The Roman Republic was represented by a Proprætor, the same one ruling over Sicily, which was a Prætorian province. The Cesars were represented by a Procurator, as after the new arrangement of the Roman provinces made by Octavius we find the islands of Malta separated from the Prætorian administration of Sicily. Marquis Barbaro, "Avanzi di alcuni antichi Edifizj scoperti in Malta nel 1768," sez. VI, states, that in the times of Municipal administration, the Municipal Orders in Malta were three, just as in the Roman constitution, namely, the Order of the Decurions which was the Senate of the Municipality, the Equestrian Order, and the Plebs, besides the IIIviri and IVviri Magistrates, the Quæstors, the Curators, and some Religious Orders. Reference to the Order of the Decurions, and of the Plebs, is so often made in old local inscriptions, that their existence is beyond doubt. But, with respect to the Municipal Equestrian Order, Marquis Barbaro was misled by the reading of inscriptions V and XII recording Castricius and Vallius "*Equites Romani*," namely, honoured with Roman Knighthood by Roman Emperors. In Class XIV, I shall prove, with Monsignor Bres, that the highest Municipal Order in Malta was that of the *Patrons of the Municipality*, of which mention is frequently made in our Roman inscriptions since the epoch of the Antonines. The statement of Marquis Barbaro about the triumviral Magistrates is, also, incorrect as it will be shown in inscription XXIV, Class XIV.

During this golden age of Malta, artistic skill, splendour and magnificence of mansions and temples, are attested to by Hesychius, Diodorus, Cicero, Val. Maximus, Clemens Alex., &c.

and commerce and industry, especially textile industry, flourished in a very high degree. Lucretius, book IV, writes :

“ *Interdum in pallam et Melitensia Cique vertunt*  
“ *Eximia veste.*”

Silius Italicus in A.D. 69, book XIV, “ *Hadranum, Ergentumque simul, telaque superba lanigera Melite, ac litus piscosa Melacte.*”

Magri understands Melacte for Melleha, as this word is not to be found in any Latin or Greek dictionary.

Hesychius and Phavorinus : “ *Melitensia lintea præstantia ex Melita insula.*”

Cicero in his charges against Verres, Or. II, mentions in several places the highly renowned textile industry of Malta ; and in Or. V, charges Verres with having held in Malta “ *textrinum per triennium ad conficiendam muliebrem vestem.*”

Maurolicus, “ Sic. Hist. ” book II, describing the theft of Verres : “ *CCCC amphoras mellis, immensam Melitensem vestem, quinquaginta tricliniorum lectos, innumera candelabra, paucis mensibus sustulit.*”

87. The hydrographic position of the islands of Malta, in the Roman maps “ *Veteris Orbis Cogniti*,” was a subject of much debate, chiefly in the last century, in connection with the shipwreck of St. Paul, described in ch. XXVII and XXVIII of the “ Acts of the Apostles,” viz., whether it happened in the Illyrian Meleda, or in the African Melita, now Malta.

St. Luke (*ibid.*) very clearly states, that “ they were sailing in Adria, when they discovered some country which was the island of Melita.” If by Adria is to be understood the Adriatic of the present day, or more properly the Venetian gulf, named *Sinus Adriaticus* in the old Roman maps, it is beyond doubt that the hydrographic position of Malta is without that sine. But, the Classics, and the old Classical historians and geographers, both Greek and Latin, point out unequivocally that the *Mare Ionicum*, the *Mare Creticum*, and the *Mare Siculum*, within the 35° and 43°



North latitude, are to be found in the basin of the *Mare Adriaticum*, the waters of which are blended with those of the *Tyrrhenum*, whilst the latitude of the Adriatic sine is within 43° and 45° North.

I quote only the authorities bearing direct evidence to the point.

Scilax, 350 B.C., "Adria and the Ionian sea are just the same."

Scimnus Chius, 200 B.C., "The ports at the South of Bœotia, " 38° 15' North latitude, belong to Adria."

Hesychius, quoted by Bochart, "Canaan," book I, ch. XXVII, "The Ionian sea is in Adria."

Diodorus Siculus, 60 B.C., "Bibl.," book XVI, states, that "Dionysius, the junior, of Syracuse, built two towns in Apulia to "ensure navigation in the Ionian sea from pirates, who with their "excursions '*Adriaticum pelagus omnino mercatoribus (Siculis)* " '*infestum reddiderant.*' "

Dionysius Periegetes, about 100 B.C., "*De Orbis Situ*," delates the Adriatic up to the African Syrtes in the following verses :

"*Æquoris at Siculi, quod vastis funditur undis*

"*Ad Noton est pontus Lybiæ, Syrtisque vadosa . . .*

"*Adria quas penetrat . . .*"

Livy, book V, ch. 98 and 99 : "The Tuscans before the "Romans swayed over land and sea: the names of the superior and "inferior seas, by which Italy like an island is surrounded, viz., "that of Tuscan sea and Adriatic sea, prove it. The Greeks called "both the seas by the same name Tyrrhenian and now Adriatic "sea."

Ovid, "Fast." book IV, and "Tristium," book I, eleg. X, states, that "Adria is separated from the Ægean sea by the isthmus "of Corinth."

Philostratus, book II, Imag. in "Palæmone," and book IV, ch. VIII, in "Apollonio," asserts, that "Nero wanted to cut the "isthmus of Corinth to mix the Ægean sea with the Adriatic."

Horace, book I, ep. 18, states that "the Actian battle was "fought in Adria."

M. Annæus Lucanus states, that "Crete, in a lower latitude than Malta, is surrounded by the Adriatic sea."

"*Illic bellaci confisus gente Curetum,*

"*Quos alit Adriaco tellus circumflua ponto.*"

C. Julius Solinus states, that "A vedette was built on mount Neptune, in Sicily, to observe the Tuscan sea and the Adriatic (*Mare Siculum*)."

Pausanias in "Arcadicis," writes that, "The Alpheus (Orfeus?), chief river of the Peloponnesus, after flowing through Arcadia to Elis and turning West from Olympia, falls into the Adriatic sea (the Cretan sea)."

Suidas describes the same course and flowing of the Alpheus.

I quote now from Strabo and Ptolemy.

Strabo, book I, "The Sicilian sea extends to the East as far as Crete (35° North latitude), the greater part of the Peloponnesus, and fills up the Corynthian sine. To the North, it reaches as far as the Japygiam Promontorium (Otranto), the mouths of the *Ionian sine*, and the southern parts of Epirus. The *Ionian sine* is a part of the sea, *up to the present time* called *Adria*: on its right side is Illyria, on the left Italy." Then, what Strabo calls *Ionian sine* is a portion of the present Adriatic gulf.

Again, book VII, "Both the *Ionian sine* and the *Adriatic sine* have one common entrance: their only difference is, that the exterior part is named *Ionian*, and the interior, up to the inner sine, is called *Adriatic*, though *up to the present day all the sea is called Adria*." Then, according to Strabo, the *Ionian* and *Adriatic sines* are only portions of the sea called *Adria*.

Ptolemy, tab. V and X *Europæ*, thus states, "The boundaries of the *Mare Hadriaticum*: Sicily to the West; Epirus and Achaja to the North; Peloponnesus and Crete to the East; the *Mare Africum* to the South. It includes the *Mare Hadriaticum* (proper), between the 35° and 40° North latitude; the *Mare Ionicum*, between the 40° and 43° North latitude: the *Sinus Hadriaticus*, between the 43° and 45° 50' North latitude; and between the 30° and 35° North latitude, the *Mare Africum*." Comparing

these geographical positions with the recent ones in Black's Atlas, we find: the Mediterranean proper, between the northern African shore and the  $37^{\circ}$  North latitude; the Ionic sea, between the  $37^{\circ}$  and  $40^{\circ}$  North latitude; the Adriatic sea (gulf), between the  $40^{\circ}$  and  $45^{\circ} 50'$  North latitude.

Orosius, Æthicus, and St. Jerome, quoted by Bochart (*loc. cit.*), assert that "in their times the Lybian sea was also called Adriatic."

Procopius, in the 6th century A.C., "De Reb. Vand." book I, writes "*Insulæ Melitæ and Gaulos Adriaticum and Tuscum* " *determinant.*"

Thus, it is proved beyond any reasonable doubt, that the "*Adria Veteris Orbis Romani*" up, at least, to the 6th century A.C., was that part of the basin of the Mediterranean which comprehended the Sicilian, the Ionic, and the Cretan, seas, whilst the latitude of the *Sinus Adriaticus* was beyond the  $43^{\circ}$  North latitude. Now, the latitude of *Melita* is  $35^{\circ} 54'$ , that of the southern portion of the Cretan sea being  $34^{\circ}$ , nearly; then, the hydrographic position of these islands in the old maps was, undoubtedly, in *Adria*; whilst the latitude of Meleda being,  $42^{\circ} 40'$  North, according to Ptolemy, tab. V, its position in the old maps is in the *Sinus Ionicus*.

The origin of this controversy, I think, is due to the omonymy of *Adria* or *Mare Adriaticum*, and *Sinus Adriaticus*, which separation is, comparatively, recent: at least, I am not aware of it before Strabo and Ptolemy. But it would be just as absurd to confound the *Adria* or the *Mare Adriaticum* with the *Sinus Adriaticus* of the old Roman maps, as to mistake the Arabian sea for the Arabian gulf of modern geographers.

88. In the year 337 A.C., the islands of Malta together with Illyria, Italy, and Africa, in the division of the Roman Empire amongst the three sons of Constantine the Great, were included in share of Constant, the second son of Constantine. After the defeat of Constant, together with the other provinces of Illyria these islands were again annexed to the Roman Empire by Constantinus, the only surviving son of Constantine. In 399 A.C.,



they were a second time severed from the Empire of the West, and in the partition of the Roman Empire between the two sons of Theodosius they were included in the Empire of the East, up to Basilius the Macedonian in 870, the epoch of the invasion of the islands of Malta by the Arabs. Hence, the second part of the survey of the Antiquities of Malta may extend from 216 B.C. to 400 A.C.

89. As the Romans had the same worship of the Greeks, and we know from Pliny that they had adopted all the Greek arts, and in fact looked to Greece for eloquence, learning, and civilization, no line of separation can be, safely, drawn between the Greek and Roman monuments of these islands, at least with respect to architecture.

We have it on record, that the Romans took great care to repair and preserve the Public Buildings of Greek origin, on the remains of which I am about to report.

#### CLASS VII.

##### **Greek and Roman architectural monuments.**

90. The elegance and beauty, as well as the richness of decoration, of the Greek and Roman buildings, both public and private, erected in these islands, are highly spoken of by Diodorus, Cicero, Valerius Max., and Clemens Alex. Being of limited extent and of the refined construction peculiar to Greek art, the Greek and Roman buildings could not resist the ravages of time, like the Cyclopian and rude stone monuments of the Phœnicians. Moreover, the principal spots for their settlements, chosen by the Greek race, were inland, and therefore the least liable to hostile invasion. Hence, the places inhabited by the early Greeks having remained unchanged during the Roman and all subsequent periods, no extensive movement or shifting in the old Greek topography can be said to have really taken place up to the time of the Arabs, especially in the old capital and its neighbourhood. Consequently,





PLATE XL. ORNOSA.

Old Greek ruins in Deyr-Liwa, Malta.



the raising of new buildings and the reconstruction of others on the very places of the old ones, together with the political vicissitudes of these islands, have naturally superseded the old Greek and Roman architectural constructions, the foundations of which are met with everywhere in excavations at Notabile. With the exception of baths, some mosaic pavements and ground floors of old Greek and Roman houses and villas, owing their preservation to the rubbish that covered them, the other Greek and Roman architectural monuments extant are a few remnants of sculptured marble, which proclaim the grandeur of the buildings they belonged to, and some Roman walls still observable *in situ*, far from the principal centre.

I shall make, besides, two separate Classes of the very interesting architectural monuments of the same Græco-Roman period, belonging to subterranean *Melita*.

91. The temple of *Juno*, a Greek and not Phœnician Deity, the sanctity of which equalled that of Samos, was erected on the site between St. Angelo and Vittoriosa, on the sea-shore of the Calcara creek, as marked in the map of Malta attached to the “*Malta Illustrata*,” of Abela, edition of 1772. Its architecture was of the Ionic Order (Abela, book II, not. IV, § IX). Cicero records its richness “in large quantities of ivory and many ornaments of ancient workmanship, wrought with exquisite skill.” Or. V, in Verrem; and Valerius Max. II, records the Numidian inscription of King Massinissa, accompanying the restoration of the ivory ornaments and elephant teeth, plundered from this temple by one of his Generals, when he was at war with the Romans, about the beginning of the Roman occupation of these islands.

Monsignor Bres, book V, ch. VI, relates that the three large marble bas-reliefs of Roman work in the collection at the Library, the one representing *Pentesilea*, the other *Zenobia*, and the third *Tuliola M. Tullii F.* and *Claudia Metelli*, were recovered from the ruins, about the middle of the XVI century, when the remains of this temple were destroyed.



Quintinus, who saw its ruins in 1533, writes: "*Junonis templum non solum inter magna sed etiam inter magnifica numerari potuisse arbitror, ex his quæ pauca durant. Ruina sparsa apparet inter multa jugera, fundamentis et substructionibus templi bonam portus ejus partem occupantibus, longe etiam in mari in quo inædificatum erat infra clivum promontorii . . .*"

The shore near St. Angelo was built of the large stones of this temple; but nothing is seen at present of the ruins described by Quintinus, which are probably still entombed in the bottom of the harbour.

I do not know on what grounds Professor Zerafa states, that the granite pillar supporting the vault of the old Chapel of St. Ann, situated on the highest terrace of St. Angelo, where an inscription on marble, inlaid in one of the walls, still records the original burial place of L' Isle-Adam, (now used as a school), belonged to the temple of Juno.

92. The temple of *Proserpine* was erected on the *Emtarfa* hill, opposite to the cliffs of Notabile, from which it is separated by the *Gharieshem* valley, on the site where is at present the statue of St. Nicholas. We know from Diodorus, book XIV, c. q. 77, that neither the Phœnicians, nor the Carthaginians, worshipped this Goddess. This temple was of the Corinthian Order: its remains, found in 1613, consist of large blocks of marble, many *fusta* of pillars, cornices, capitals, and slabs carved in relief, of the same material.

A Latin inscription of the age of Augustus, reported in Class XIV, states, that Chrestion, Roman Procurator of these islands, had effected extensive repairs in this temple.

I inspected this place on the 2nd June last. No remains are now apparent on the site, except some sets of holes dug in the rock, like those at St. George's bay. A portion of the marble of this temple is at present over the main entrance of the Auberge d'Italie, forming the trophy of Grand Master Caraffa; another portion has been used in decorating the façade of the Castellania,



erected by Grand Master Pinto; and several capitals, pillars, and cornices are still to be seen heaped up in the square opposite the Cathedral, at Notabile. Two of the capitals, two pillars, and several other pieces of marble, from this temple, are in the collection of Mr. Sant Fournier; and several other relics are owned by other private individuals. Hoüel gave a drawing of some of these relics, vol. IV, pl. CCLXI.

93. The temple and theatre of *Apollo* were discovered in 1747, in strada Reale opposite to the Monastery of St. Benedetto and the old Municipality house at Notabile. The temple was of the Ionic Order, and was adorned with a white marble portico having four pillars.

These ruins consisted of several marble pillars, capitals, cornices, and ornaments, of which Abela gives a drawing in tab. VII, and of large marble slabs and blocks of different sizes, bases for the support of statues and pillars, and two Latin inscriptions reported in Class XIV, one found in the same year, recording extensive repairs made by the Alderman of the town, and the other (inedited) recording other repairs and decorations by a certain Claudius Julius, Patron of the Municipality, discovered in 1868.

Mr. G. de' Conti Sant Fournier possesses three of the capitals belonging to this temple, and I know of many others sparse in several private houses at Notabile. Of the other relics belonging to the same buildings, found previously in 1710, several altar tables have been made, pilasters, and thresholds in private houses, &c. (*Vide* my Memo. on the "Recent Discoveries at Notabile," in 1881).

94. The temple of *Diana* (?) From a depth of fourteen feet beneath the mud, in the basin at the foot of casal Paula, two broken shafts of marble columns, one 5 ft. 6 in. and the other 3 ft. 6 in. in height, and 1 ft. 8 in. in diameter, now preserved in the collection at the Public Library, were, in February 1865,

brought up by the workmen in the new extension of the Great Harbour, together with a marble figure considered to be the "*Diana portubus Inspectrix*" of Callimachus.

Many other relics, very probably, still remain buried in the mud at that place.

A whole column, in excellent state of preservation, and exactly similar to the shafts above mentioned, and evidently of the same age, was found in November 1877, under about 6 feet of earth, while digging to prepare the foundation of stores, the property of Mr. Francesco dei Conti Manduca, who preferred taking this interesting relic to his garden at Notabile, rather than presenting it to the Museum of the Public Library.

95. Roman Villa near the Chapel of *St. Paul el Milki*, on the road to St. Pauls' bay. In June and July 1879, the foundations of a Roman villa were discovered, near the little Chapel abovementioned in the *el-Rihana* and *Ben-uarrat* tenements. In the collection at the Library there is a small terra-cotta head, probably an Apollo's, and a large stone with several cavities, evidently, to contain liquids, which were recovered from these ruins. It is to be greatly regretted, that no description was made of this discovery, and that the place was again covered with earth. The pavements, stuccos, implements, decorations, &c., were all Pompejan. The denomination of the place, in which these ruins were uncovered, means "St. Paul the welcome." Although this may be a very slight ground, indeed, to presume that it was St. Publius' Villa, in which St. Paul and his companions were hospitably received, in 58 A.C.; yet all the spots, in the same vast district called *ta-Bulos* by the Arabs, and *el-Puales* by the natives, are marked with traditional names referable to the shipwreck of St. Paul, in St. Paul's bay, close by, and his good treatment by the natives, and by Publius, the Lord of the place. At the *Mistra*, under the promontory of Selmun, and nearly opposite to Selmun rocks, a small sine, with a natural cave, having a fresh water spring not much above the level of the sea, is the place where the





Fig. 1  
Fig. 2  
Old Greek and Roman monuments of sculpture  
in the Museum.





Alexandrine ship is believed to “*have run aground and its forepart sticking fast remained unmovable.*” In the *Wardia* hill, local tradition points out the place where St. Publius’ Villa existed, and the Chapel of *San Giuan tal-hareb* (of the ruins), in the immediate neighbourhood, is the place where the natives by “*kindling a fire refreshed St. Paul and all his companions, because of the rain and of the cold.*” At the time of old Father Manduca, and of Comendatore Abela, many of these ruins existed, and probably still exist. The vast tenement of *Ben-uarrat* (the Son-heir), now Government property, is traditionally considered to be “*the possessions of the chief man of the island named Publius,*” mentioned in the XXVIII, v. 7 of the “Acts of the Apostles.” And a fresh water fountain, on the main road bordering the sea-shore of St. Paul’s bay, in the descent towards the *Puales* gardens, is the fountain of the Apostle which retains still its Syrian appellation of *Ghayin-Razul*. The traditions of the old crypt of Melleha, and its district, belong to the same early Christian epoch of these islands.

96. The Roman Mansion, on the esplanade of *Sakkaja* near Notabile, discovered in February 1881. A ground plan consisting of four large rectangular rooms in a line, some of them measuring 30 ft. 10 in. ; a peristyle surrounded by sixteen pillars, and enclosing a compluvium 22 ft. 4 in. by 21 ft. 4 in.; a large vestibule and a portico, all paved with mosaic in the best Pompeian style, with several mosaic pictures of excellent taste inlaid in the floors ; traces of several other appurtenances and extensive walls ; remains of five or six life-size marble statues, &c., all show the extent and splendour of this Roman dwelling, once existing in the central spot of the old Capital. (*Vide* my Memo. on the “Discoveries at Notabile,” 1881).

An accurate plan of this mansion, and drawings of its mosaic pavements, are preserved in the Office of the Superintendent of Public Works.

97. Other extensive mosaic pavements, forming the ground floors of other houses and buildings, were discovered in September

1860, in the locality of *Bir-el-liun* at Rabato ; in 1867, others were found at Notabile, opposite the *Emtarfa* hill, and under the Seminary of the Archbishop, of which no care was taken. I was told by the late Very Reverend Canon Vincenzo Galea, who dwelt at Notabile, that many other mosaic pavements were discovered at Rabato from 1830 to 1858, which remained unnoticed.

98. *Baths and Thermæ.* Vestiges of these establishments, public and private, most popular especially with the Romans according to Pliny and Cicero, some of them richly decorated with mosaic pavements, and others with marble, have been found at different epochs in various parts of these islands.

Commendatore Abela, book I, not. III, records those existing at Rabato near Notabile, in his time, in a tenement belonging to Canon T. Zabbar, having a mosaic pavement, and still furnished with lead pipes and a spring of water, fed from *Ghain-Hammem*, explained by Abela "the fountain of the baths."

Other extensive baths are mentioned by the same author, book I, not. III, in *Deyr Handul*, some with a floor constructed of lozenge-shaped tiles, and others of dice of marble and porphyry, with lead pipes *in situ*.

Count Ciantar mentions other private baths made of marble and mosaic, discovered at Notabile in 1720 ; others, on the shore of the "Grande Marsa" in 1729 ; and one large, with a Roman vault, on the promontory of *Kortin*, in 1768.

Baron Bali De Stadl describes another Roman bath, found near the shore of the "Little Marsa," under the Capuchin Convent, in 1729, having a very rich mosaic floor, ornamented with figures of reptiles and fishes.

The remains of other baths, with a pavement of monochromic mosaic, were found at Notabile in 1747.

99. I visited, on the 20th June last, one of these Roman baths, the property of Mr. Giorgio de' Conti Sant Fournier, in the rustic tenement *ta Baldu*, about one mile from *casal Dingli*. It was

discovered in 1869, and is pretty well preserved. A circular room excavated and vaulted in the rock, plastered all over, about 44 ft. in circumference, with stone seats all round, forms the bath. There was a constant supply of water from a spring in the same tenement. Lead pipes conducted under-ground from a small tank, high up under the vault, on the right-hand side, fed with a water fountain in the centre of the room. Some remains of the basin, together with its support, are still preserved. Below three or four steps at the entrance, there is another tank, 1 ft. 40 in. long by 1 ft. wide, with three holes furnished with lead pipes to carry the overflowing water into a large tank outside the bath.

100. *Other Greek and Roman architectural remains.* Com-mendatore Abela in book I, not. II, § VIII, and book II, not VI, § XVIII, relates, that in 1647, in the streets of Notabile, a great many relics of old buildings were still to be seen. Entire marble pillars with capitals, bases, cornices, bas-reliefs, &c., drawn by him in tab. XIV, and by Hoüel vol. IV, pl. CCLXI, not yet profaned by the destructive hands of man, were lying in the public roads. Hoüel, in 1787, drew several relics of Roman architecture in Gozo, vol. IV, pl. CCXLVIII, which he had observed.

Many of these relics have been appropriated in private houses, but the greater number has been destroyed, even recently.

101. The Greeks, besides the capital, had established several other minor centres in Malta, called *Pagos* by them, and *Vici* and *Villas* by the Romans, corresponding to modern towns and villages, where important remains of Greek and Roman buildings are recorded to have existed, of which, however, I have inspected only a few.

Some of these villages were mixed up with the Phœnician centres, and in my present state of knowledge, I am not quite able to draw a line of demarcation between them.

*Ghar-Barca*, in the immediate neighbourhood of Rabato, where many Greek hypogæa and Roman sepulchres were found,



was certainly a large suburb of the old Melita; and up to the Greek Emperors at least, another important place was *Emtarfa*, at present deserted, on which stood the temple of Proserpine. I visited this place on the 4th June last. It still shows the arrangement of the streets, and many tombs are scattered all round.

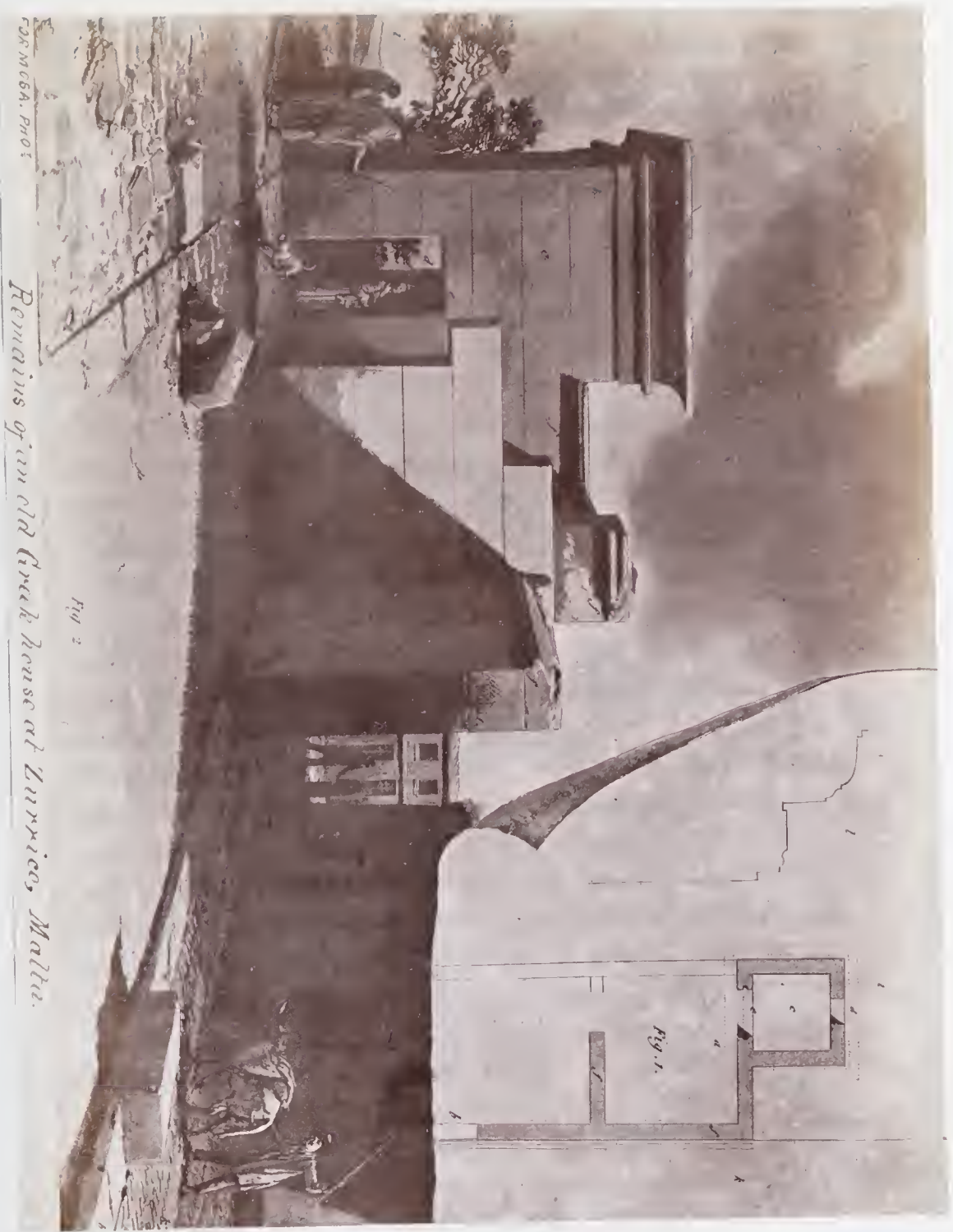
Amongst the interesting objects discovered in this place, there is a brass *Exagium solidi* for weighing gold coins, of the epoch of Arcadius, the property of Mr. Giorgio de' Conti Sant Fournier, on which I shall report in Class XIII. If I am not mistaken, the discovery in this spot of a test for trying gold coins may be held as a telling hint, that traffic and trade were still going on in the *Emtarfa*, at least up to the Emperors Honorius and Arcadius.

From the perfection of the design and the extent of the ruins, and the large hypogæa, existing on the *Ben Gemma* hill, about an hour from Notabile, Hoüel, vol. IV, pag. 112, did not hesitate to affirm, that there must have been there an important Greek village, of which he has given a drawing in vol. IV, pl. CCLXII and CCLXIII.

Another Greek village was Zurrico, where up to 1787, in the house of the Parish Priest of the place, was preserved a considerable portion of an old Greek house with a cornice "du style Grec et d'une fine exécution," of which Hoüel in vol. IV, pl. CCLIX gave a drawing. The venerable wall drawn by Hoüel in one of the sides of this house, which I inspected on the 6th June last, still exists, deprived however of its Greek cornice; the tower and an inner room with a Greek pediment are in complete preservation; as also the Greek wall, nearly 60 ft. long, regularly constructed of three courses, on the road from Safi to Zurrico, drawn by Hoüel.

102. From a very able description, by the Marquis D. Carlo Antonio Barbaro, of some large edifices which, beyond doubt, were used by the Greeks, and extensively improved by the Romans, and evidently intended for the convenience of exporting and importing traders, and for deposits, discovered at the foot of the *Kortin* promontory in 1768, while dredging the innermost creek







of the Marsa to enlarge one of the Government rustic tenements ; from the number of baths and other remains found in the same locality ; and from the numerous tombs, Pagan and Christian, of different epochs, some very recently found in the same place, it would appear that the Marsa, at the end of the Great Harbour, was, even at the time of the Romans, a large centre of population, second only to the capital.

As the place has nearly twice changed its topography, there is some difficulty in identifying precisely the spot of the edifices, described by Marquis Barbaro. It is recorded, that the innermost creek of the Marsa in the Great Harbour, beyond *Kortin* promontory, reached the ascent of *casal Luca* ; and Abela writes that in his time, 1647, there was an island in this creek, on which an ancient Christian Greek cemetery was found. On the reduction of this creek, by filling in and dredging, to the limits of a channel to receive the superfluous waters of the harbour, the present large Government tenement was formed, still retaining the previous denomination of *el-Marsa* (place of anchorage) and *el-Ghzira* (the island). *Kortin* is the promontory separating the little Marsa, or *Shat-el-Kuabar* (the shore or beach of Tombs, or the sea of crabs), opposite to Mr. Farrugia Bugeja's stores up to the Gas-works and the Slaughter-house, from the great Marsa which extended internally towards the ascent of *casal Luca* and *casal Curmi*. The canal dug by Pinto in the great Marsa, was at the foot of *Kortin*, to the South-west.

In the new extension of the Great Harbour, during the administration of Sir Gaspard Le Marchant, two basins were formed of the little and great Marsas in this place, a South-western one, by enlarging the canal made by Pinto, and a North-western basin including the fish-pond on this side of the Jesuits' hill, towards the Slaughter-house.

It was at the foot of *Kortin* separating the two Marsas, that the buildings described by the Marquis Barbaro with four large water-tanks, some of which were covered with a Roman vault of pozzolana concrete, and some roofed on arches, were discovered.

The main building (see plan annexed to Marquis Barbaro's Memoir, 1794,) covering an area of over 14,000 ft., contained a middle gallery, 67 ft. by 16 ft. 8 in., roofed with arches and flanked by two corridors, each with openings into 5 stores. The principal entrance of the middle gallery, 10 ft. wide, distant 114 ft. from the old shore, looked towards the interior of the Marsa on the South-west, and was provided with a portico. The opposite extremity of the same gallery, provided likewise with a portico contiguous to a Roman vault of pozzolana concrete, 22 ft. 6 in. high, opening into an uncovered passage, 10 ft. wide and 30 ft. long, looked to the entrance of the harbour on the North-east, Was it a Custom-house? On the right side of the passage just mentioned, to the South-east, another building, covering an area of 4500 ft., evidently connected with the preceding one, was discovered, consisting of a vestibule, 66 ft. by 8 ft. 4 in., with openings into five long rooms. There were traces of other premises, and a hard stone threshold, 12 ft. 6 in. long, hollowed by the passage of carts. A third building, on the same line of the principal entrance of the main building, and about 40 ft. distant, showed three oblong rooms, 29 ft. by 12 ft. 6 in., without any communication from one to another, and roofed on arches. In two of these rooms were found several holes containing many cinerary urns, glass vessels, and other objects which will be described hereafter. The rooms had their entrance from a common vestibule, and one of them, furnished with a portico, was certainly the "*Libitinarium*" attached to the two hypogæa. From these ruins were recovered above 200 Græco-Maltese, Punic, Roman, and Bisantine coins, all examined by Marquis Barbaro, and none Arabic, which fairly proves the decay of these buildings during the dominion of the Saracens in Malta.

103. Abela, book I, not. I, § XLVIII, mentions a Roman mole, found in the Marsa in his time, originally 1500 paces long, according to a local Latin inscription reported in Class XIV, No. VIII.



104. In the island of Gozo, the Greeks erected a temple to Juno in the capital, which, according to local tradition, was on the site of the present Cathedral.

Canon Agius, book II, ch. II, states, that, during the rebuilding of the Church, several remains of columns of marble of the Doric Order, and blocks of marble, were discovered, and were then lying in the streets of the Castello; and that one entire column was still in the small Piazza, near the old clock-tower. He, further, informs us, that in his time 22 other shafts were lying in the ascent to the Castello, and Hoüel, during his visit to this island, had seen many of these Greek and Roman remains, which have since disappeared.

The old capital of Gozo, which during the occupation of the Romans was a flourishing Municipality, as is gathered from an interesting series of inscriptions, was during the Government of the Knights of St. John, especially during the 17 years' sovereignty of Grand Master De Omedes (1536-53), abandoned on account of its frequent invasions of the Arabs from Barbary. At present, with the exception of the Cathedral, of the Bishop Cagliares Palace, and the Courts of justice, this old Greek town is a collection of heaps of ruined houses, along the old arrangement of its streets.

One or two episodes will convey an idea of the protection of the island of Gozo, during the Government of the Knights of St John, up to the time of Grand Master Garzes. Under the Cathedral there is a subterranean gallery, with several recesses, entrance to which is gained by the removal of three large slabs of stone from the floor, opposite to the Baptistery on the left hand side of the main door of the Church. When, by ringing the bells, notice was given of the landing of the Arabs, care was taken to remove the Blessed Sacrament from the several Parish Churches of the island, and deposit it in the recesses purposely formed in this gallery, and to shelter the female population within the precincts of the Castello, the only stronghold of the place.

In the invasion of Gozo by the Turkish Army, commanded by Sinam Pasha, in 1551, in the time of Grand Master De Omedes,

only one soldier of Artillery was found in defence of the town, and he was an Englishman as we are informed by Bosio, book XV, year 1551. Nearly two thirds of the population having been taken slaves, or otherwise succeeded in escaping, a Soldier, Bernardo Dopuo, seeing no other way of saving his wife and two daughters from outrageous violence, cut their throats and threw them into the well of his house, and after the dreadful deed, this Virginius, fiercer than his Roman prototype, fought bravely against the Turks killing many of them, until he at last fell under their daggers. His body is buried in the Cathedral, and the street "*del Milite Bernardo*" in the old capital, still, recalls the site of his house, at present a miserable garden of prickly-pears, from which even the inscription commemorating the fact was lately removed. It commenced with the well known adage: "*Audaces fortuna juvat.*"

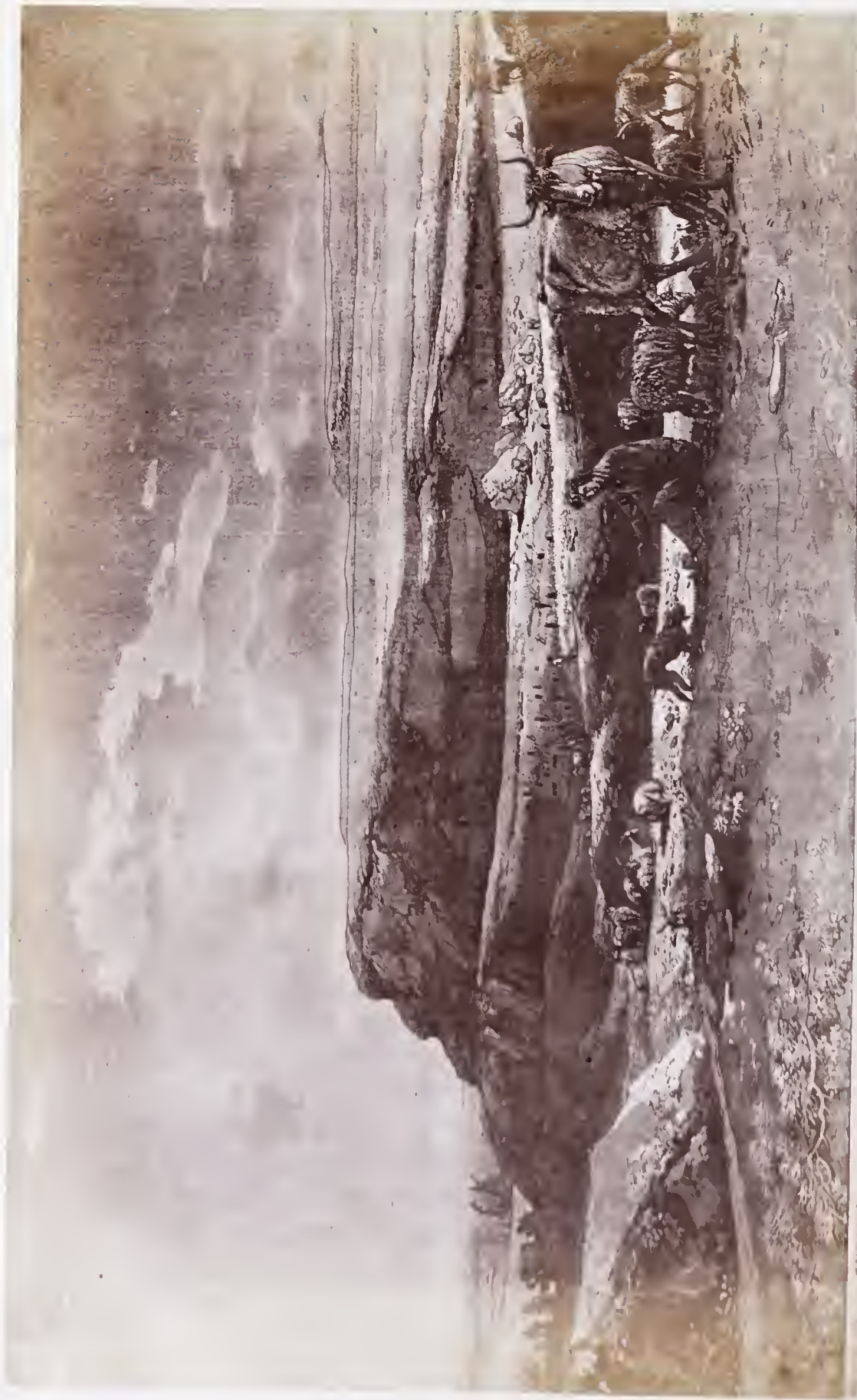
The defence of this island was begun by Grand Master Garzes and Grand Master Alophius Wignacourt; the first erected a fortress in 1605 to protect the landing place at *Emgiar*, and the second a fortress at *Marsa-el-Forn* in 1618. But it is to the Norman Ball Jacopo Fran. de Chambray, that the island owes its complete defence, he having at his own expense built the citadel, still bearing his name at Migiarro (*Emgiar*).

Owing to these many vicissitudes, and to my comparatively limited knowledge of the island of Gozo, except the old capital and its suburb, which are decidedly of Greek origin, I am unable to point out any other Greek or Roman centres of population in that island, although baths and other vestiges of Greek and Roman buildings have been found in other localities.

104. The little island of Comino, where the existing fortress was erected by the Engineer Vittorio Cassar in the time of Grand Master Alophius Wignacourt, in 1618, seems, from the few remains recorded by Abela and Agius, to have been only a place of holiday resort, at the time of the Romans.







*Cave of Paian tombs in Argemina Hill, Macedonia.*



## CLASS VIII.

**Pagan tombs and sepulchres.**

105. The numerous tombs and sepulchres, scattered or clustered in different parts of these islands, outside but in the immediate neighbourhood of the old centres of population, form perhaps the most interesting class of monuments of the Greek and Roman epochs, but are still the most neglected. On these I am now about to report.

This subject was so lightly and imperfectly treated by our old historians, that it was with extreme difficulty I could glean the following particulars about these monuments, most of them being hidden underground. No attempts have been, hitherto, made to survey and classify them into some sort of order, and I shall try to do it as far as my limited knowledge of the subject will enable me to do.

106. I think I am warranted in dividing these monuments into two Classes, marked by, at least, two essential characteristics.

The one will include : first, *isolated tombs*, with one or more *ædiculæ* for the several members of a family, according to the ancient Oriental custom of interment in caves, which are quite different from the Keltic tumuli of the West ; secondly, *isolated clusters* of tombs of the same architectural style, which were evidently public burial places. Besides their *isolation*, these tombs along the lines of old public roads, or in public places, show no attempt at concealment.

The other class is peculiarly characterized by the assembling of numerous groups of *cubicola*, *loculi*, and *columbaria*, arranged in rows, the entrances to which is by openings pierced through the side walls of long sinuous galleries, sometimes in two or three orders of superimposed stories, forming intricate labyrinths of streets, and lanes, often converging to centres and crypts, still preserved in their entirety, and so extensive as to form literally subterranean suburbs and villages, each with carefully concealed entrances.

The internal architectural arrangement of the latter class of tombs differs entirely from that of the former class. Apart from this, the eagerness of a large community to preserve after life the relics of the human body for a final restoration, which is the "Resurrection of the flesh," and the unity of belief which bound them together in life, would bring about the construction of places for the performance of sacred rites, which would be most carefully hidden from the eyes of the profane. Such are the Roman-Maltese Christian cemeteries, called the Catacombs, dating from the fourth century.

107. In this Class I am about to report on the Pagan tombs. Both the isolated tombs, and those in groups included in the first Class, are undoubtedly the oldest; but as two races, the Phœnician and the Greek, lived contemporarily in these islands, I cannot, without some hesitation, attempt to distinguish the tombs belonging to the one race from those which belong to the other.

#### ***Phœnician tombs.***

108. To the Phœnicians the cremation of the dead was forbidden. They, holding the same religious tenets as the Egyptians, took great care in shrouding their dead "*quia nudum jacere cadaver pro flagitio erat*" (Alessandro da Alessandro), and in preserving them "*condentes in urnis fictilibus*" (Diodorus, book III, ch. I), or by interring them horizontally in caves with their feet to the West. In fact all Orientals preferred caves in which to bury their dead; and we read in the Book of Genesis, CXLIX, how Sarah, Abraham, Isaac, Rebecca, and Jacob, were buried in "*Spelunca agri duplici*," purchased from Ephron. Now, many of the Maltese isolated tombs are small natural caves, below the level of the adjacent ground, to which access is gained by steps. These caves have the form of an antichamber, with one or more elliptically arched, low, entrances on its sides to as many cells, separated from one another and adapted to receive the bodies of





Figure 1.

Illustrations of the Tombs at Benghenna.

FORMOSA. PHOTO





Fig. 2



Fig. 3

Fig. 4

Fig. 5

Illustrations of the Mummies at Beni-Hassan.



the dead, with a raised platform, at either end, having cavities for the head and feet, as represented by Hoüel, vol. IV, pl. CCLXIII, fig. 2.

Commendatore Abela, book II, not. II, § VI, and Count Ciantar, book I, not. IV, § XXX, relate that the Phœnician sarcophagus found in *Ghar Barca*, in 1624, and the sepulchral cave with the Phœnician inscription *Melitensis altera*, found in *Ben-ghisa*, in 1761, were placed in accordance with the same ritual prescriptions. We are, then, warranted in considering as Phœnician all the tombs of this type, especially those found about the old Phœnician centres.

109. The following is a list of tombs of this type, hitherto discovered.

The *Ben Gemma* cluster, on the declivity of a hill about 3 miles from Notabile to the West, of which Count Ciantar gives a drawing in tab. XVI, and Hoüel, vol. IV, pl. CCLXII and CCLXIII. This cluster is on the side of the hill opposite to the little Church of "Nostra Signora della Lettera," and contains about sixty caves in three stories, each having a narrow gallery in the sides of which cells of the Phœnician type, are excavated for one, two, or three bodies. In 1874, whilst building the new fortress, another cluster was found by Messrs. Lewis and Fielden. Others were found, in the present year, by the Royal Engineers.

The *Gebel Ciantar* cluster, in the direction of Krendi not very far from *Hal-Kbir*, one of the largest Phœnician centres, is formed of several caves mostly underground. Those discovered in the time of Count Ciantar, about the year 1770, extend about 58 yards (book I, not. IV, § XXX).

The *Melleha* cluster, on the side of the hill to the right of the Parish Church, is formed of several caves, with elliptical arched openings, arranged in three stories descending by three steps from one to the other. (*Ibid.*).

The *Selmun* cluster, in the Calcara Garden, one of the tenements of the Monte di Pietà, the entrance to which, orna-

mented with the arms of Grand Master Pinto in 1766, is in the valley of *Ghain Zeituna*, on the road to Melleha.

One, or two, of these Phœnician clusters, still unexplored, are at *Marsa Scala*.

The interesting Phœnician tomb, in the place *tal Ghzira*, is near the bridge connecting Fort Manoel with the *Ghzira* territory, about 200 ft. from the shore, in a field close to Villa Tagliaferro. It consists of a cave partly underground, having an opening about 3 ft. to the North-east, which gives access by some steps to a gallery widening into a small semicircular chamber with one cell on the left, having two other cells on the right opposite to this chamber.

The large cluster of *Ghar Gherduf* is in the country of San Giorgio, Gozo, one mile and a half from Rabato. The greatest part of this cluster has been lately destroyed.

Of the same origin may be considered the sepulchral caves in the large esplanade of *Medeuiet* near the temple of Hercules, Marsascirocco, and those in the field opposite to the Chapel of St. Andrew, outside Safi.

### ***Greek and Roman Pagan tombs.***

110. The Greeks used cremation of dead bodies, which was subsequently adopted by the Romans. Thucydides, contemporary to the Peloponnesian war, informs us, that the use of burning the bodies of the dead was adopted as a sanitary measure by the Athenians, after the first year of the war, in consequence of the invasion of plague in Athens in 430 B.C., that is to say about 300 years later than the Greek settlement in these islands. At the time of Plato ("Phædon" tom. I, ch. III), about 360 B.C., cremation and interment were both used by the Greeks. The first Roman, whose ashes were preserved in an urn, was Cornelius Sylla. In many of the old sepulchral caves in these islands are found cinerary urns, still full of ashes, with glass and clay vessels erroneously called *lacrymatories*.



It has been proved by Paciaudi and Mongez, that these vases were intended to contain balsams and other perfumed liquids to be poured out, during cremation, on the ashes by the Libitinarius, and not to collect the tears of parents, relatives, and friends, as is commonly believed.

Statius, Sylv. II "Epicœdion Glauciæ Melioris," in the following lines describes the profusions of the Romans on such occasions :

" *Quid ego exequias et prodiga flammis*

" *Dona loquar . . . . .*

" *Quodque Arabes Phariique (palam est vidiq. liquores)*

" *Arsuram lavere comam.*"

In fact, Father Allegranza, "Giornale dei Letterati per l'anno 1755," pag. 115, mentions one of these vases described by Paolo Boccone, Osserv. XIII, still containing balsam (?), which had been found in Malta in 1680, and was then preserved in Rome, whither Canon, afterwards Monsignore, Costanzo had carried it together with a very fine brass vase, on the convex surface of which lions, stags, goats, and monkeys, were represented in relief, found also in Malta. Canon Agius "Gozo Antico e Moderno," book II, ch. X, mentions other lacrymatories containing liquid substances, found at Gozo in his time.

111. In many of our old tombs, urns are found full of ashes, bearing the names of the individuals whose relics they contain. I have seen one, in excellent preservation, in possession of Mr. Giorgio dei Conti Sant Fournier, an intelligent collector of antiquities, which still contains the ashes of Sextus son of Marcus. The Latin name, *Sex. M. F.*, is in clear relief on the inner surface of the lid.

Together with these urns are found glass and clay vessels, which were deposited in the same tombs, after pouring out the perfumed substances they contained on the ashes of the dead.

Thus, one is justified in considering, as Greek hypogæa and Roman conditoria, all tombs containing cinerary urns and other

vases, those, especially, which have a close topographical connection with the old Greek centres.

Abela, book I, not. IV, § I, states, that in his time many of these isolated Greek hypogæa existed round Notabile, some of which I have been able to identify, on the road to *Emtarfa*.

112. The following is a list of the Greek hypogæa recorded, some of which have been destroyed.

One in *Hal-Bajada*, out of Rabato, in the middle of the road leading to the Church of St. Agatha, to the South-west, formed of a circular cave, 25 ft. in diameter, with several cells in the wall; discovered in 1715 (Ciantar, book I, not. IV, § XXX).

Another discovered in 1716 in strada Pilatu, Rabato, opposite to the house of a certain Mr. Stivala, under the wall of *Ghar-Barca*, having a circumference of about 40 ft. (Ciantar, *ibid.*).

A third one discovered in 1718, in the field annexed to the Church of St. Sebastian, Rabato (Ciantar, *ibid.*).

In 1720, several hypogæa with urns and terra-cotta plates, secured by a red marble door, were found in the tenement *ta Kiaci*, belonging to the prebend of *Ghar Barca*.

In 1765, a tomb was found in *Wied-el-Gionna*, containing urns with ashes and burnt bones, and several glass and clay vases (Ciantar, *ibid.*).

The third building discovered at the Marsa, in 1768, was a Greek hypogæum, which from its arrangement and the objects found therein, described by Marquis Barbaro, seems to have been complete.

Many other tombs in small isolated caves, round the *Emtarfa* country, may be considered of the same Greek origin.

#### CLASS IX.

##### **Early Christian Cemeteries, or Catacombs.**

113. M. d'Orville and others assert, that these extensive early Christian *dormitoria* were originally quarries, like the Sicilian

*Lautumia*, for the supply of stone for building purposes, just as the Roman catacombs were *Arenaria* for the supply of sand and pozzolana, &c. However, the soft stone found in several of these places is thoroughly unfit for building, and useless to be burnt for lime. Besides, their internal arrangement does not afford any of the conveniences necessary for the transport of blocks of such material.

Another important question is, whether these vast cemeteries were, originally, Heathen Greek hypogæa turned into Christian *dormitoria* by the primitive Christians, Churches of the catacombs having been found in them for the celebration of the Divine Mysteries, and for the administration of the Sacraments, on the type of which were raised the more recent Basilicas in, and subsequent to, the time of Constantine.

Geraldi, Saint-Non, Gaetani, Monsig. Bres, and others, are in favour of their Heathen Greek origin.

The author of "Roma Sotterranea," the Maltese Bosio, Father Martène *de Antiq. Eccles. Rit.*, Father Marchi, "Monum. delle arti cristiane primitive," Commendatore Abela, and many others, maintain their Christian origin.

Monsig. Bres, book III, ch. XI, quoting from Comm. Abela, book I, not. IV, § V, asserts, "that in many of the *ædiculæ* in "these cemeteries were found urns containing ashes, Greek coins, "lacrymatories, Pagan lamps and pictures &c." This would at once settle the question as to the origin of the Maltese cemeteries; but the quotation of Bres from Abela is very strangely incorrect.

Abela, in the place quoted by Monsignor Bres states very clearly, that all the objects drawn in tab. IV, V, VI, edit. 1772, were found in the isolated Greek hypogæa; and from the absence of such objects in the catacombs, and the presence of arrangements for religious worship in them, as well as the sign of the Cross and the Greek Christian *sigla* on the tombs, and lamps drawn in tab. IV, as also from the Churches built over these catacombs, he argues that their origin was, exclusively, Christian. This is equally fallacious, as the Churches were raised



over the catacombs much posteriorly to the catacombs themselves, and their Christian arrangement might have been preceded by a Pagan one.

I think, that apart from any question as to what these places originally were, if they existed at all before the epoch of the Roman Emperors, it is beyond reasonable doubt, that their arrangement adapted since that epoch for the repose of deceased members of large communities, awaiting their final resurrection, is exclusively Christian; whilst the Pagan tombs were intended simply to preserve the remains of those deposited there, as family records.

114. The Maltese Catacombs at present known, many of them provided with oratories and crypts, are :

The Catacomb of St. Paul, having closed communication with St. Paul's crypt, outside the limits of the old capital, Rabato. Only a small portion of it is cleared out. Eleven descending steps within a private enclosure behind the College of the Grotto of St. Paul, lead to a fissure-like cutting in the rock, more than 10 ft. below the level of the adjacent ground. This is the entrance to the Catacomb. Twelve more, steep, narrow, steps lead to the first or upper story of this Cemetery, about 20 ft. under ground. The walls of its numerous passages are lined with cubicula, or places for depositing the dead. Some are simple (*loculi*), others arched (*arcosolia*), some form small groups (*columbaria*). The openings of these cubicula are either quadrilateral, or arched; their length is paralled with the walls with the exception of those near the Church which are at right angles to the wall, the feet of the bodies being turned towards the opening. On many of these tombs are still observable traces of the stones, bearing the sepulchral inscriptions mentioned by Niederstedt, Boccardo, Abela, and Ciantar, but have now perished. The Church of the Catacomb is planned as a Latin Cross, cut and vaulted in the rock; the long arm of the Cross is about 34 ft. in length by 11 ft. in width, with an apse on the right; its transversal nave, raised by three steps above the other nave, is over 24 ft. long, and of variable width







from 9 to 41 ft. Besides the Church, there are several crypts apparently adapted for different purposes, according to the canons of the primitive discipline of the Church.

It is alleged, that in the tomb bearing the monogram of Christ surmounted by a crown held by two Angels, in the Church of this Cemetery, there was found the small chest containing bones, now preserved in the treasury of the Cathedral Church.

115. The Catacomb of St. Agatha is in *Hal-Bajada*, outside Rabato. The sides of its crypt, which had five altars and a sacristy, are covered with pictures of Martyrs, nearly full size, painted on the plaster of the wall after the Greek style. Those representing St. Agatha, St. Agnes, St. Lucia, St. Lawrence, are the best preserved. A considerable portion of the Cemetery attached to this crypt has been cleared out. The visit of St. Agatha to Malta, whither she fled from the persecution of the Emperor Decius, may have preceded by a few years her martyrdom in Catania in 251, and very probably this Cemetery, named after her, is of the same epoch.

The date of the present Church on the crypt of St. Agatha is 1670; and that of the previous one, 1504.

116. The Catacomb of Sta. Venera, or Parasceve, a native of Marseilles, who repaired to this island during the persecution of the Emperor Decius, *Vide* "Santuario Capuano," Calend. V, 26 Luglio, and Pietro Natale, book X, ch. LXI, is in the district of Rabato. The portrait of this Saint is still visible on the wall of the crypt, and the altar was still there in the time of Abela. Both the crypt, and the Cemetery attached to it, are encumbered with rubbish. The date of this Cemetery and its crypt may be towards the middle of the third century.

117. The Catacomb of St. Cataldo, Rabato, is unexplored. Commendatore Abela relates, that in 1739 a crypt adjoining this Catacomb was cleared out, on the walls of which several pictures

in the Greek style represented Bishops in Episcopal vestments. It was destroyed in Abela's time, book I, not. IV, § XVII. The date of the Church on the crypt is 1745, but, up to 1575, another one existed which was profaned by Monsignor Duzzina.

118. The Catacomb and Cemetery of Sta. Maria della Grotta, over which the Church of the Dominican Friars is erected, on the road to Boschetto, is unexplored.

119. The *Abbatia*, on the road to the Xerri Chapel, outside Rabato, is the only Cemetery of which a portion was surveyed. A plan of it is given in tab. VIII by Commendatore Abela. On the right hand of the atrium, on entering, is found the crypt. There is a fresco within a niche in the Greek style, representing the Eternal Father, having on his right St. John the Evangelist in Episcopal vestments, and on the left St. Michael, the rest being spoiled by damp and neglect. Under this niche are holes in the rock, probably, to receive the fittings of an altar. On the other sides of the crypt, Greek Crosses point out its consecration. Near the crypt a large basin is observed like those existing in the other Cemeteries, probably intended for washing the dead before their burial. From this crypt several entrances cut in the rock lead to the Cemetery, which is formed of three longitudinal passages separating three lines of tombs, divided transversely into 12 rows, each having about three cubicula, some of them arcosolia. Outside the Cemetery, on the right, there is another crypt, but evidently of more recent date, with a central pillar supporting the vault. Over an altar cut out of the rock, and isolated from the wall, the following figures are painted in the Greek style: Our Lord on the Cross, on the arms of which are the words *Viktor Mortis*; on the right, our Lady with the letters *Mat* underneath, and the Angel Gabriel with the words *Angelus Gabriel*; on the left, St. John the Evangelist with the letters *Joh* below, and the B. Virgin kneeling with the words *M. Domini*, representing the Annunciation.



On one of the other sides there are painted two escutcheons, drawn by Abela, in tab. VIII, the one in four quarterings, two of which represent two eagles, probably, of the Kings of Arragon, and the other a white Latin Cross on red field. This crypt is also decorated with incised Greek Crosses, and furnished with fixed benches.

This monument, which I inspected on the 30th May last, has been, and is, turned into a cattle pen.

120. The Catacomb of *Sta. Maria tal Virtù* is on the same crest of, and about one mile from, Notabile. The crypt under the present Church is vaulted, and the vault supported on two pilasters cut from the rock, a tribune and an altar, and several fixed seats, are still preserved. The Cemetery annexed to the crypt is blocked up.

121. The *Mintna* Catacomb, midway on the road from Micabiba to Krendi, was discovered by the late Capt. Strickland, R.N., and myself, in 1860. The entrance to this vast unexplored Cemetery, under the large esplanade outside Micabiba, is from a well in the cattle pen of the place, a part of the Catacomb being used as a water reservoir during the rainy season.

122. Commendatore Abela, book I, not. IV, § XXIV, mentions another one of these Christian Cemeteries in the Ghzira, Marsa, where in his time there was still a Greek inscription, published by Gualtieri; "Antiq. tabulæ," tab. CCCXL, testifying that "it was purchased and renewed by Zosimus."

In August 1874, on the northern side of the hill *tal Gisuiti*, or the promontory of Kortin, Marsa Grande, whilst building some stores, the property of Mr. N. Sacco, another Catacomb was discovered, of which nothing now remains but a plan and some sections, and a Latin inscription with a small boat engraved at the top, preserved in the collection at the Public Library. This Catacomb has been converted into a water reservoir; but within Mr. Sacco's precincts there are still some isolated tombs.

123. In the island of Gozo I am not aware of the existence of any Catacombs, except the one in the Country District called *It-tomba*, which is, still, unexplored, although it is likely that several more are to be found. Count Borch, in his letters, a sequel to Brydonne's, on Malta and Gozo, states: "there are Catacombs in Gozo, like those of Malta."

Near the Convent of the Friars of St. Augustin there is a Cemetery, which Canon Agius, "*Gozo Antico e Moderno*" book II, ch. X, from the number of Chapels subsequently built in it by the Christians, is inclined to believe must have been an early Christian Cemetery, or at any rate of very ancient date.

He records the dedication of ten of the Chapels erected in this place, some of them existing up to 1545, namely: St. John the Evangelist, St. Anthony Ab., St. Cataldus, St. Catherine, St. Paul, St. Blaise, St. Bartholomew, the Blessed Virgin, St. Michael, and St. Nicholas. This Cemetery, at present nearly destroyed (!), was literally paved with large stone slabs covering the tombs, on which were represented chalices and other sacred vases, crosses, mitres, and pastoral staves of different forms, symbols used by early Christians on their tombs, besides swords, escutcheons, &c. Commendatore Abela, tab. XVIII, has given 28 drawings of these stone tables, and the laborious Canon Agius, in 1750, published a more complete series, adding many of those which private collectors had appropriated to themselves.

This ancient Cemetery, however, does not exhibit any of the features of the early Christian *dormitoria*, and its epoch cannot be earlier than the thirteenth century.

Father Menettier, in his researches of Heraldry, states, that the custom of engraving pastoral staves, mitres, swords, &c., on the tombs of Bishops and Knights, began with the introduction of the Orders of Knighthood, several centuries before 1500.

I translate the following quotation from the learned Father Lupi, "*Diss. Filologiche*," lett. XI, who visited this interesting locality in 1735: "I had to curse both the petulancy of an " Epigrophomac. Priest, and the indifference of the Friars of the

“ Convent of St. Augustin. Near this Cemetery the natives had  
“ built a Church, endowing it as an ecclesiastical benefice. The  
“ whole of the Cemetery was paved with large stone slabs, bearing  
“ escutcheons of families, pastoral staves, &c., and undoubtedly  
“ with some inscriptions engraved in low relief upon them. The  
“ Friars wanted to enlarge the kitchen of their Convent, so, instead  
“ of purchasing stone, they appropriated the stones of this  
“ Cemetery, which was not their property. Another individual,  
“ following the example of those Theologians, took a large number  
“ of the remaining slabs to build his house with. After great  
“ search and much diligence, excavating here and there, we were  
“ not fortunate enough to discover any chronological date, and  
“ remained in the dark because the Friars wanted light in their  
“ kitchen. The local tradition was lost, as the people of the place  
“ were taken for slaves in Barbary by Sinam Pasha in 1551, and  
“ the holder of the benefice knew how many fig-trees grew in his  
“ garden, but had never suffered any such historical scruples.  
“ Some of the natives say, that this Cemetery was made by  
“ Charles V, for the most conspicuous personages, who died of  
“ plague on his return from Africa. The history of Charles V,  
“ however, does not support this statement. He was twice in  
“ Africa, the first time, being victorious, returned from Tunis  
“ direct to Marsala in Sicily, without touching at Malta, and the  
“ second time returning from Algiers had his army destroyed by  
“ a storm and not by plague. Others say, that in this Cemetery  
“ were buried some of the eminent personages who had accompanied  
“ Louis IX in his unfortunate crusade in Africa in 1270, and who  
“ perished by plague. However, nothing is recorded as to the  
“ landing of any portion of his army in Gozo, in the history of  
“ St. Louis. It may have been formed by Alphonsus V, of  
“ Arragon, who after the battle in the Gerbe in 1432 visited  
“ Malta, and remained there for some time, or, probably, in the  
“ course of one of the early crusades.” So far Father Lupi.

Fazelus, however, and Zurita, the minute historians of  
Alphonsus of Arragon, do not record this Cemetery, nor the



illustrious personages buried therein. The old Maltese historian, Father Imbroll, is of opinion, that the eminent personages buried in this Cemetery were the companions of St. Louis in the seventh crusade.

#### CLASS X.

##### **Greek and Roman monuments of sculpture, and mosaic.**

124. Many of our sculptured monuments are of Greek art. We are told by Diodorus, that there were many Greek artificers and able decorators of houses in Malta, at the time of the Romans. Greek artificers had undoubtedly worked for the Romans, as we know from Cicero and Valerius Max., that exquisite sculptures and bas-reliefs of Greek art were found in these islands, during the Roman occupation, which, consequently, though of Greek chisel belong to the Roman period.

The statue of *Juno* in marble, larger than life, (the epoch of discovery of which is unknown), is at present seen under the principal gate of Notabile, in a much worse state of preseveration than it was at the time of Abela, book I, not. II, § VII, and at the time of Hoüel, who gave a drawing of it in vol. IV, pl. CCLXI. Yet, it was placed there to ensure its preservation!!! Monsignor Bres, book II, ch. VII, deemed it an Astarte of Phœnician sculpture!

The statue of *Hercules*, entire, in marble, 3 ft. high, represented with club in hand and the skin of the Nemean lion, of which there is a drawing in tab. IX, Abela. According to Monsignor Bres, this statue is of a workmanship superior to that discovered in Rome in 1781, and sold to Colonel Campbell. It was discovered in Marsascirocco, where it must have been placed by the Greeks. This statue was first preserved in the museum of Abela, by whom it was mistaken for the Phœnician Hercules, who according to Eusebius was five generations older than the Greek one, and is represented on an old Phœnician medal published by Vaillant, "Hist. Regum Syriæ," as an old Sailor, clad in a long robe, with



a tower on his head, and a trident in his left hand as leader of Colonies in distant countries, for which the title of Archagetas was given to him in the Greek inscription II Melitensis. After Abela's death, it was preserved at the Villa of the Jesuit Fathers at the Marsa, which belonged to Abela, and after the suppression of the Jesuits it was transferred to the Museum of the Library.

Canon Agius, "Gozo Antico e Moderno" Manuscripts, pag. 206, writes, that in 1739 another statue of Hercules, in marble, nearly of the same size, and found in *Ta-Berrini*, district of San Giorgio, Gozo, was possessed by Count Felice Manduca Piscopo Macedonia, of which nothing is known at present.

A statue of *Diana*, in marble, smaller than natural size; the head wanting; the arms and legs broken off, the latter from below the knees. It was brought up from a depth of 14 feet beneath the mud, in the basin of the new extension of the harbour, at the foot of *casal Paula*, in February 1865, and is preserved in the collection of the Library.

A statue of *Ceres Julia Augusta*, the mother of Tiberius, in marble, larger than life; head, arms, and feet wanting. It was found at Gozo, where, up to the beginning of this century, it was sunk into the wall under the entrance of the Castello, then removed to the Garrison Library, and afterwards transferred, by order of the Governor Sir William Reid, to the Public Library. The learned antiquarian Father Lupi, "Dissert." tom. II, lett. XI, describes it as "*infinitamente maestrevole con ottimi panneggiamenti, del colto secolo di Tiberio.*" Houël gave a drawing of it, vol. IV, pl. CCXLVIII.

A group in white marble, not exceeding one foot in length, representing a wolf suckling *Romulus* and *Remus*, by Father Allegranza considered of singular beauty, discovered in 1720 amongst the ruins of *Ghain-el-Kbira*, near the Castello, Gozo. This group, first preserved in the Palace by Grand Master Manoel and his successor Grand Master Pinto, is at present in the collection at the Public Library.

Three Anaglyphs in marble, representing four female faces, recovered, towards the middle of the XVI century, in pulling down the temple of Juno. They were first preserved in the Palace, and are now in the collection at the Public Library. On the one, measuring 3' 8" by 2' 2", there is engraved near one of the faces *Tulliola M. Tullii F.*, and near the other *Claudia Metelli*; on the other, measuring 2' 6" by 1' 6", *Petesilea*; on the third, measuring 2' 2" by 2' 2", *Zenobia Orientis Domina, An. Dom. CCLXXVI*. These inscriptions, one of which quoting the year 276 A.D. when the computation of the Christian Era began by Dionysius Exiguus in the sixth century, are, certainly, of a date much posterior to the sculpture of the figures. These bas-reliefs were drawn by Hoüel, vol. IV, pl. CCLVII, and a memoir proving their antiquity was printed by Abbé Navarro in 1778.

An oval bas-relief in marble, representing on one of the faces a scenic mask, and a griffin on the other; three heads, in marble, of Roman work, worthy of notice; and a portion of a frieze, in marble, sculptured in high-relief, are, also, preserved in the same collection.

A fine Roman head, in marble, probably of one of the Emperors, discovered at Notabile in February 1881, is, still, preserved in the Office of the Superintendent of Public Works.

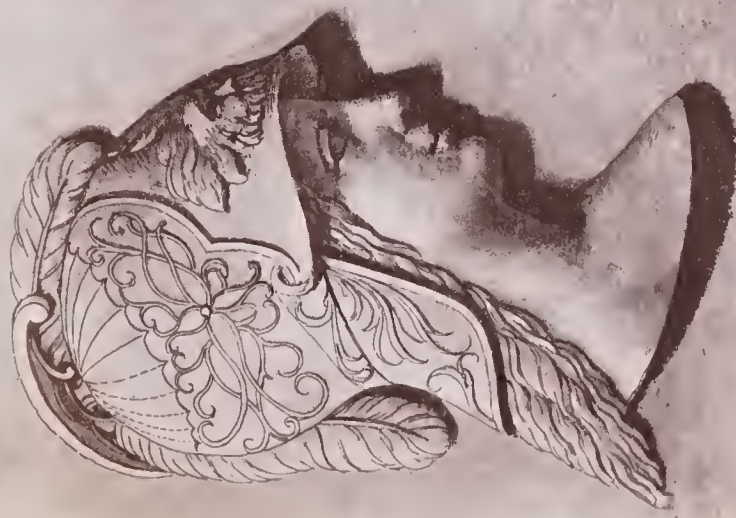
A bronze *Harpocrates*, sitting, with a load of amphoræ and chalices over the head, and a snake round the right arm. This statuette copied by the Abbé Chaupy, and similar to the one represented by Montfaucon, tom. II, pl. CXXIII, No. 4, is in the collection at the Library. The other *Harpocrates*, however, drawn by Abela, tab. III, fig. I, and by Cuperus, pag. 26, is missing.

The beautiful bronze *Mercury*, found at Zurrigo, with the winged galerus on the head and Mercury's rod, or caduceus, in the right hand, and a bag in the left, drawn by Abela, tab. III, fig. III, book II, not. IV, § XXXV, is, also, lost. Father Allegranza states, that "it is so gentle, well made and well preserved, that "it could be taken for the one of Apulejus engraved by Saturninus" (Gior. de' letterati di Roma, 1755, pag. 112.)









PENTHESILEA

Reine des Amazones.



Engraving of a classical coin or medallion.



A very interesting bronze statuette, with both arms entire, squatting in a sort of basket, and looking upwards as if offering something in a patera held in the right hand, is preserved in the Library. It was found at Gozo in 1771, described by Mr. Calvet, and engraved by Ciantar, tab. XXI, Saint-Priest, vol. I, and Boisgelin.

The whole figure is covered with characters quite unknown, considered by Warburton and others as belonging to some sacred alphabet. Saint-Priest observes in this statuette the figure of a crippled beggar, the head uncovered, without beard, with a girdle of cord, asking charity with his right hand, and bearing the monogram of Christ which, read with the Greek characters that precede it, says "Christ was scourged." Saint-Priest is of opinion, that it represents one of the leaders of the followers of Marcus and Basilides, and the Gnostics, who held the belief that the letters of the alphabet indicating a number, contained the symbol of the Creative Power, and had formed a kind of arithmetical theology, to which he refers the unknown characters covering this statuette.

Many other bronze statuettes of Greek mythology, found at Gozo, are mentioned by Canon Agius, "Gozo Antico e Moderno," Manuscripts, pag. 206, of the preservation of which nothing is known.

A marble altar, 2 ft. 2 in. wide and 2 ft. 6 in. high, the front representing, in high relief, three legs springing from one head (the Trinaeria), and the two sides a human figure in the act of offering a fish. It is preserved in the collection at the Library. Abela relates, that it was discovered in his time at St. Paul's Bay, and it is commonly believed to have been the ara of the temple of Proserpine (book II, not. VI, § VII). It is reported by Hauercampius, vol. VII, tab. CXLI.

Four more statues and the relics of others, in marble, found in the latest discoveries at Notabile, in February 1881, are at present in the Office of the Superintendent of Public Works (*Vide* my Memoir on these discoveries).

A fine and elegant statue in white marble, probably of Greek

sculpture, about 2 ft. high, was discovered by the workmen in the public service, in May 1880, while repairing the public road and square opposite the Church of San Paolo fuori le Mura, Notabile. The Rev. Dr. V. Vassallo, from whom I have had this information, saw this statue, the place of preservation of which is unknown.

A marble bust, a lad (*puttino*), and a slab representing in high relief some warriors, probably Greek or Roman, found near Saura Hospital, Rabato, Notabile, are preserved in the collection of Mr. Sant Fournier; as, also, a Roman statera with its weight and chain, found in 1855, under the foundations of Saura Hospital, adjacent to the Sanitarium, Notabile.

125. Abela, book II, not. VI, § XVIII, tab. XXII, records the relics of two other statues in marble; and book II, not. VI, § XV, fig. II, the statue of Cestius son of Poampus, 5 feet 10 in. high, which in his time was still encased in one of the walls at the entrance of the Castello, Gozo; and Hoüel drew other statues, vol. IV, pl. CCLXI, the place of preservation of which is unknown.

Count Borch, l' Abbé Navarro, Count Ciantar, Canon Agius, Comm. Saint-Priest, Boisgelin, and Mons. Bress, book V, cap. VI, Malta antica, mention the following objects of the preservation of which nothing is known, namely: —

Found in Malta — A head of *Augustus*; a bust of *Antinous*, in the private collection of Marquis Barbaro; a head of *Mercury*; a very nice bust found in 1723; a bas-relief representing *Phidius* and a *Fecial*; two bronze statuettes, dancing; a *Faun*, in marble, found towards the end of 1799, possessed by Mr. C. Debono, one of Her Majesty's Judges in this island at that time.

Found at Gozo — An old Roman statera with its weight, discovered by Canon Agius in 1786; a statue in alabaster, 5 inches in height, representing *Flora* with a child, discovered in 1720 in the rustic tenement *tal Mhagen*, district *ta Taflia*, Zebbug, which up to 1742, when Canon Agius saw it, was in the possession of Mrs. Debonis. De Boisgelin, vol. I, chap. IV, mentions other





F. 5 M. 5 A. PHOTO

1. Greek and Roman monuments & sculpture found at Malta

Fig. 2.



remains of Roman Sculpture observed by him at Gozo, scattered with many fragments of architecture, of which nothing is seen at present.

126. Hoüel, vol. IV, pl. CCLXI, fig II, gives a very nice drawing of two very interesting bas-reliefs, the one representing, the bust of a female in a large médaillon on one of the faces of a cippus covering a sepulchre in Gozo, with other ornaments in marble, which he calls an “*ouvrage romain de bonne exécution*”; and the other, a whole figure in a médaillon, representing a seated female figure, found in Rabato, Notabile, about 1725. The marble base of the former was preserved for some time by Baron Fran. D’Amico Inguanez, and some of its ornamental pieces were inlaid in the wall of a garden, opposite to the old Sanitary Office, Malta. The second monument was claimed by Grand Master Manoel. The place of preservation of these monuments is unknown to me.

The following quotation, about the culture of the people of the islands of Malta during the Roman epoch, is from Hoüel vol. IV, pag. 113, a propos of these objects of architecture and sculpture, “*Je suis porté à croire, par ces petits chefs d’œuvres, que c’était un peuple très instruit en architecture, et qui possédait tout les autres arts au même degré d’intelligence, richesses, grand moyen politiques et militaires &c.*”

127. Mosaic pavements and pictures. Besides those mentioned in § 97, other extensive mosaic pavements were found recently in February of the present year, on the Sakkaja esplanade outside Notabile, having variegated meandering patterns on white grounds, interspersed with masks of superior workmanship. (*Vide* my Memoir on the recent discoveries at Notabile.)

Three mosaic pictures embedded in matrices of stone, and in no respect inferior to those of Pompey, have been found inserted in the above mentioned pavements. They are still preserved in the Office of the Superintendent of Public Works: —

One measuring 1 ft 10 in. by 2 ft., inlaid in hard lime,



represents a young man with curly hair, bearing in one of his hands a bunch of grapes entwined with vine branch, and in the other apparently a pomegranate ; a dove flying towards the grapes, and a duck on the left side of the picture. The left shoulder of the figure, which according to Father Garucci represents Autumn, is much damaged ;

The second picture, inlaid on a marble slab measuring 2 ft. by 2 ft. 1 in., of workmanship highly superior to the preceding and in a better state of preservation, exhibits a standing naked male figure, whose feet and hands are tied with cords, a lion's skin and a club at his feet. A female figure, on the right, is engaged in binding the hands of the central figure ; another female figure, on the left, having a pair of scissors in the right hand, and with the left holding by the beard the male figure, who is in evident distress at being about to be deprived of it. The drapery is very elegant and its folds well arranged, with bright colours and various shades, and the whole composition exceedingly well grouped, and executed with precision. It is most likely one of the episodes in the life of Hercules, namely, his sale by Mercurius to the Lydian Queen Omphale, when it was decreed that he should serve a mortal for three years, as an atonement for having killed Iphitus, son of the King of Æchalia ;

A third picture represents two drinking doves standing on the brim of a bowl, with the reflection of their heads in the water. This picture is in the centre of the compluvium, where the Romans used to place a fountain.

#### CLASS XI.

##### **Greek and Roman Pottery.**

128. There is no doubt, that the earthenware in general use during the time of the Greeks and Romans was of the same kind of the coarse phœnician pottery. Many of the specimens found in the Greek and Roman tombs are in excellent preservation, some bearing the potters' and other marks impressed upon them.





FOURTH PRIZE Found in M. M.



Mr. Sant Fournier has in his collection one or two small plates bearing the name of "Sex. M. F.," found in the same *conditorium* of Sextus, the son of Marcus, with several glass vessels in good preservation.

129. The specimens of polished ware are rarer inasmuch as they were more fragile, and were not preserved, like the coarse ones, in close tombs.

The elder Pliny "Historæ Mundi, lib. XXXV, cap. III," states, that, "the earliest style of painting was that used by "Telephanes of Sicyon and Ardices of Corinth, namely of mere "outlines of men and animals; and that, the addition of colour "was first practised by Cleophantus of Corinth." He further praises the durability of such paintings, which by many are mistaken for Etruscan work.

In the Collection of the Library, there are seven polished vases of elegant form, all purely Greek, on which are correctly drawn subjects of Greek Mythology in the first style described by Pliny. They are in a pretty good state of preservation, viz: Four "*Oxibaphon*," three of which of large size. On one of them the figures representing the capture of Midas, according to Birch and De Witte, are in reddish brown on a black ground, and on the other three, the figures, representing Bacchanalian subjects, are in black on a light ground; one *Lekitos*; one *Skyphos*, and another undetermined. These vases were drawn by Hoüel, vol. IV, pl. CCLVI.

130. Other Greek vases with figures and drawings of animals in the same style, about 9 in number, are preserved in the collection of Mr. Giorgio de' Conti Sant Fournier. Some of them were found, about 1830, by Canon Grimani, under the foundation of his new house near Saura Hospital, Rabato, Notabile, and others near the tower "ta Nadur."

A large *Oxibaphon* in a good state of preservation, of which Mr. Sant possesses a drawing, was found at Zurrigo by Count

Marchesi, and is said to have been sold for £ 50 to Lord Nugent.

Other minor Greek vases of the same style are preserved in the collection of Mr. G. M. Bonavita.

131. In the following List are described other Greek vases in the collection at the Public Library: —

A *Diotia*, found in Gozo in 1854, bearing on one of the handles, in raised Greek characters, the word *Soter*, the name probably, of the owner or the maker. A large bowl, found at Micabiba some years ago.

A *lamp*, one foot and four inches high, of a reddish brown colour, ornamented with lines and markings of a deep red, of elegant and curious form, with two large burners to hold the wicks, and bearing, in high relief, the mask of a bearded man, on the upper part of each of the handles. It was drawn by Hoüel vol. IV, pl. CCLVI.

The two *lamps* bearing in relief, the one a capped head, and the other the figure of Victory, drawn by Ciantar, book I, not. IV, § VI, tab. VI, and several other lamps, bearing reliefs. But the very elegant lamp, representing Minerva with the head of Medusa, drawn by Hauercampius and Abela, book II, not. VI, § IV, tab. VI, is missing.

Six glass *lacrymatories*, and *urns* of various forms, and of iridescent lustre, which were found in sepulchres with ashes and bones.

Several *lamps* of the Christian and Roman period, drawn by Count Ciantar book I, not. IV, § VI, tab. IV, of which our Catacombs and crypts have furnished many specimens. They bear the following Christian symbols: the *Fish*, the letters of the Greek word (ikthus) being the initials of the following words "Jesus Christ son of God Saviour;" the *Stag*, symbol of the Saints according to Origen, of the Apostles according to St. Jerome; the *Peacock*, symbol of immortality; some with the jewelled cross, similar to those of subterranean Rome, drawn by Bosio and others.







The *tile* representing a running stag, drawn by Ciantar book I, not. IV, § VI, tab. XII. In the Cemetery of St. Agatha have been found many slabs of Malta stone, on which these most interesting symbols of early christianity were represented.

132. Besides these ceramic objects preserved in the collection at the Library, others reported by Bres, book III, ch. IX, were found near Notabile, towards the middle of the XVI century, of the same Greek style mentioned by Pliny. I am unable to state where they are at present preserved. One of these vases was inscribed with the Greek name of Cecilia of Cassius; another, found in 1768, had the Greek word "Eros" (Love) impressed upon it; a third was discovered at Zurrico, in 1785, by Mr. Grougnet.

Marquis Barbaro, in the Memoir above referred to, § V tab. II, mentions a polished red terracotta basin, 18 in. diameter, entire, with stand, bearing a cross like decoration in its centre, found in one of the three subterraneans at the Marsa in 1768. Sozomenus, book VII, ch. XV, and Socrates, book V, ch. XVII, relate, that at the time of Theodosius the Great many vases were found with such decoration under the old temple of Serapis in Egypt. Horus Apoll., book II ch. CXXII, writes that the Egyptians meant an "after-life" by this decoration. Amongst another great quantity of fictile vases discovered in the same locality, Marquis Barbaro mentions several *cinerary* urns, tab. IV and V, greek oblong Diotæ, tab. III fig. 3 and tab. IV fig. 6, and above 260 two handled portable inflated jars (amphoræ) tab. III fig. 3, attic measure, quite unused, with the exception of 24 of them. The jars, which had been used, bore old Greek characters, under the neck, which Barbaro conjectured to belong to the alphabet of Simonides Melicus, about B.C. 489, and some to the epoch of Alexander the Great. Some of these characters appear to have been numerical notes; others, initials of the name of the owners; on one of them the word *Chalum* was cut; but none of them could be meant to point out the potters' marks as these characters were

only incised on the jars already used for some purpose, and not on the new ones, as Marquis Barbaro very aptly observes. Facsimiles of these characters are in tab. IX and X. Nothing of this very interesting dépôt was preserved in the island.

I must not omit to record, that the valuable Gozo collection of pottery, medals, and coins, made principally during the discoveries of 1728, belonging to Comm. Felix de Savasse, was all sold to the Museum of Lyons.

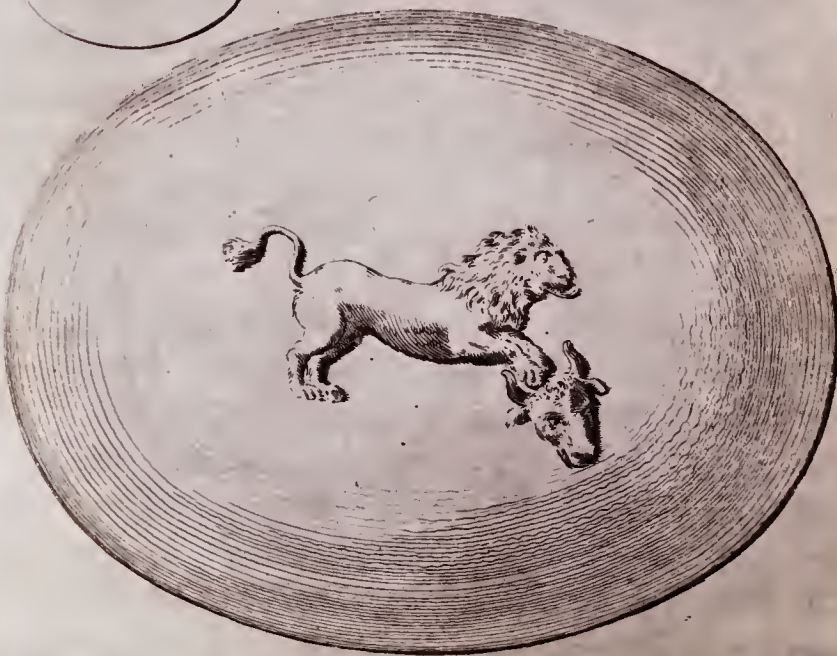
## CLASS XII.

### Gems.

133. Amongst the relics recovered in 1768 at the Great Marsa, Marquis Barbaro describes a gem which he calls a "chrysoprasus," of a yellowish green, oval form, its longer axis measuring 10 lines; engraved on both faces. He gives a very neat drawing of it in tab. VI, and considers it Egyptian amulet, or oroscope. However, from the figures engraved on both faces of this gem, there is not the slightest doubt, that it represents the Zodiac. On the obverse; the figures round the circumference represent the twelve signs of the Zodiac separated by pillars, and in the centre are Phœbus and Diana representing the sun and the moon, surrounded by the stars of the Ursa Major (Septem Triones). On the reverse; the figure of a lion, by which the Greeks, according to Macrobius in Som. Scip. book I., represented the sun, clasping upon the horns of a bull, thereby signifying his entrance into the second zodiacal sign.

Mons. Bress, from the elegance of the engravings, does not doubt that it is the work of Greek glyptography. He, further, adds that the sign of Libra in this gem is Greek, while in the Egyptian Zodiacs the seventh sign is represented by the *Chelee*, i. e. the claws of Scorpion. Mons. Bress is right in stating that this gem is Greek, but in the Zodiacs of Denderah and Henna, as drawn by Champollion and Rosellini, the *Libra* sign is represented by a balance just as in the Greek, Roman, Indian, and Arabic





*Gem found at the great Marsa, in 1768.*

FORMOSA. PHO.



Zodiacs, the only difference being in the absence of a fulcrum in the Egyptian sign.

This precious relic was appropriated by Grand Master Pinto de Fonçeca, who most probably presented it to Louis XV, whose good will he anxiously courted, trusting to obtain the Vice-Kingdom of Corsica from the French Court. Pinto was the first of the Grand Masters of St. John to wear the Royal Mantle.

134. Mons. Bress, book II, ch. VII, relates, that a jasper stone was found at Notabile with Phœnician characters engraved on it.

Canon Agius, ch. IV, and Balì De Stadl, mention another gem inserted in the forehead of a calf, found at Gozo in the *Duejra* District in 1729, by a certain Antonio Pace.

Count Ciantar, book II, not. VIII, § X, states, that several cornelian stones were found at Notabile. One of these stones, the longer axis of which was 7 lines, bearing the engraved figure of Euterpe, was preserved in his private collection. A drawing of it is found in tab. II, "*Malta Illustrata*," with additions by Ciantar. In the margin of one of the copies of "*Malta Illustrata*," existing in the Library, I found noted in handwriting, that this gem was sold for 40 scudi, par. to £ 3 6 8, to Comm. De Tousieres.

Father Allegranza in the "*Giornale de' Letterati di Roma*, 1755," mentions other gems with Greek inscriptions belonging to these islands, as being preserved in the private collections of Marquis Barbaro and Count Preziosi. I am unable to state what has become of these gems.

#### CLASS XIII.

##### **Roman Coins.**

135. Coins of Roman Emperors are commonly found in the islands of Malta. It is related by Abela, book II not. VIII, § X, that in March of 1617, were found in the *Sakkaja* ascent to Notabile, in the place where some shops at present are built, five

gold medals of Theodosius, four gold medals of Valentinian II, and one gold medal of Honorius.

Canon Agius mentions several other gold medals found at Gozo.

136. The *Exagium solidi*, mentioned in § 101, was found at Emtarfa about 1840. It was sold to Father Saverio dei Minori Osservanti, from whom it passed to Count Baldassare Sant.

It is thus described by the learned Father Romano. “Soggetto: Trono imperiale con colonne, sotto il quale siedono Teodosio, Arcadio ed Onorio, somiglianti tutti alla rappresentazione che se ne ha nello scudo di Teodosio trovato recentemente in Spagna, e pubblicato da Antonio Delgrado, Madrid, 1849. Il pezzo di bronzo ornato di nielli in argento contiene al basso l’indicazione del valore, che è once tre. Pesa veramente 3 once meno qualche grammo. È un *Exagium solidi* o saggio di moneta di oro. Costantino divise la libbra romana in 72 solidi, epperò ciascuna oncia ne contiene 6, e 3 once 18. Se ne trovano dello stesso peso con l’indicazione in Greco *numismata* 18, ed anche in Latino S. XVIII.”

137. Comm. Abela, book II, not. VIII, § VIII, in his private collection had several gold medals of Constantine the Great, found in Malta, bearing on obverse, the bust of the Emperor, and on reverse, the figure of Victory and the legend *Victoria Augusta* and CONOB (Costantinopoli obsignata) below the figure.

Marquis Barbaro, § IX, relates that above 200 coins were recovered from the ruins at the Marsa in 1768, and sent to him to be described by Grand Master Pinto. Besides some Græco-Maltese and Punico-Maltese coins, they were for the most part of the Roman Emperors, Antoninus, Lucius, Aurelius, Comodus, Gordianus, Claudius the Gothic, Aurelianus, Diocletianus, and Massentius; and of the Byzantine Emperors, Justinianus, Tiberius,



Constantinus, Mauritius, Phocas, Eraclius, Eracleon, and Michael Balbus.

In the collection of the Library there is a good number of these brass Roman coins found in Malta.

#### CLASS XIV.

##### **Greek and Roman Inscriptions.**

138. Some of the inscriptions, belonging to the Græco-Roman paleography of these islands, are highly interesting in an historical point of view. They contain the most authentic records concerning the Government of these islands, during different epochs of the above mentioned period, the municipal Orders granted by the Romans, the Magistrates of Justice &c.

The municipal Orders of the Decurions (Senators), and of the Plebs, are very clearly evidenced by several of these inscriptions, and, I think, very little doubt can be entertained about the highest Order of the Patrons, the names of several natives belonging to this Order being mentioned in some of the Latin inscriptions.

Muratori published an inscription (MCXVIII. 6), found at Taranto, recording the names of C. Anfidius Atticus and Q. Verius Atticus, admitted with all their descendants into the Municipal Order of the Patrons of that town. Of the same description are the CCCLII. I — CCCLXIII. 1. 3. of Grutherus, and CCCLXIV of Fabretti. In the album Curiae Canusinæ published by Spon, Noris, Montfaucon, Damodeo, and Fabretti, found in 1675, there is a list of forty four names of Patrons of the Municipality of Canosa at the time of Alexander Severus, who could not but make a separate Order from the Decurions. Doni and Reinesius, Classis X, num 2, publish another Latin inscription of the epoch of the Antonines, found in Italy, containing the names of thirty two Patrons Q. Q., which Muratori reads "Patroni quinquennales."

As the Patrons constituted a separate Order in several municipal towns in Italy, there can be very little doubt that the Patrons, to whom reference is so often made in the

Greek and Roman inscriptions of these islands, constituted a Municipal Order quite different from the Roman patrons resident in Rome, as Legal Agents of the Colonies, to plead their causes and defend their interest before the Imperial Government.

In some of the Greek inscriptions mention is made of the dignity of *Protos Melitaion*, as were L. Castricius and St. Publius, the last one mentioned by St. Luke, to which corresponds *Primus Melitensium* of the Latin inscriptions. This dignity may have been conferred on the first of the Order of the Patrons, for example the Alderman of the town.

I ; Greek.

MELITENSIS.

*Tessera hospitalis.*

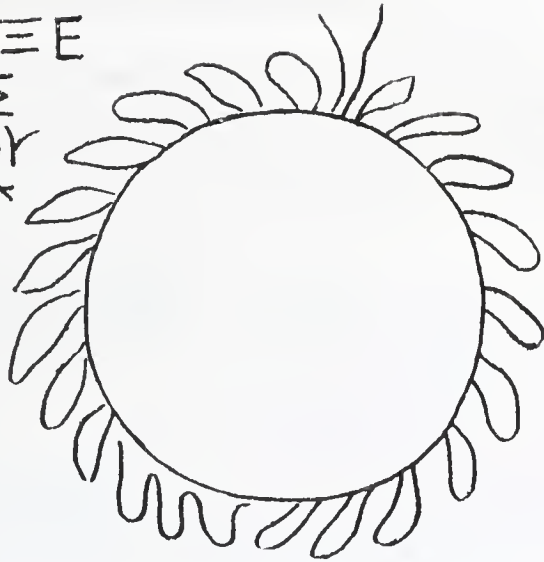
Earliest Greek epoch, 5th century B.C.

Preserved in the Museo Nazionale of Naples.

139. This Tessera in bronze, containing the grant of citizenship to Demetrius of Syracuse by the Græco-Maltese Republic, is certainly very interesting, both as a Greek monument in perfect preservation, and as an historical record authenticating the best information we have of the government of Malta, during the early Greek settlement. Its length is over 1 ft. 3 in.; its width about 10 in. Above the inscription is a circular depression, probably, for the seal of the island; and it was encased in a frame ornamented with two lateral pillars. In the middle of the XVI century, it was preserved at Rome in the Maffei collection, and having been translated into Latin by Regius it was published for the first time by Lipsius at Leyden, in 1588. Cardinal Edoardo Farnese, heir of the Flavio Ursino collection for which it had been purchased from the Maffeis, owned it in 1600, and after him the Dukes of Parma.

With Carlo Borbone Duke of Parma, and afterwards King of the Two Sicilies, it migrated to Naples, where it is now preserved. It was also published by Smetius, Grutherus, Thomasinus, Vandalius, and Gualteri.

ΥΠΕΡΠΡΟΞΕ  
ΕΡΓΕΣΙΑΣ  
ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ  
ΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΕΓ  
ΤΟΥ



ΝΙΑΣΚΑΙΕΥ  
ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΩΙ  
ΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΙ  
ΓΟΝΟΙΣΑΥ

ΕΠΙΕΡΘΟΥΤΟΥΚΕΤΑΙΚΕΤΟΥΑΡΧΟΝ  
ΤΩΝΔΕΗΡΕΟΥΚΑΙΚΕΤΗΤΟΣ  
ΕΔΟΞΕΤΗΣΥΓΚΛΗΤΩΚΑΙΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙ  
ΤΩΝΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝΕΠΕΙΔΗΔΗΜΗ  
ΤΡΙΟΣΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΣΔΙ  
ΑΠΑΝΤΟΣΕΥΝΟΥΣΥΠΑΡΧΩΝ  
ΤΟΙΣΤΕΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΙΣΗΜΩΝΠΡΑΓ  
ΜΑΣΙΝΚΑΙΕΝΙΕΚΑΣΤΩΤΩΝΠΟΝ  
ΤΩΝΠΑΡΑΙΤΙΟΣΑΓΑΘΟΥΠΟΛΛΑΚΙ  
ΓΕΓΕΝΗΤΑΙ  
ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗΙΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΝ  
ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥΣΥΡΑΚΟΣΙΩΝΠΡΟΞΕ  
ΝΟΝΕΙΝΑΙΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝΤΟΥΔΗ  
ΜΟΥΤΟΝΜΕΛΙΤΑΙΩΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΕΓ  
ΓΟΝΟΥΣΑΥΤΟΥΑΡΕΤΗΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ  
ΚΑΙΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΗΣΕΧΟΝΔΙΑΤΕΛΕΙΕΙΣ  
ΤΩΝΗΜΕΤΕΡΩΝΔΗΜΩΝΤΗΝΔΕ  
ΠΡΟΞΕΝΙΑΝΤΑΥΤΗΝΑΝΑΓΡΑΨΑΙ  
ΕΙΣΧΑΛΚΟΜΑΤΑΔΥΟΚΑΙΤΟΕΝΔΟΥ  
ΝΑΙΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΩΙΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥΣΥΡΑ  
ΚΟΣΙΩΙ





From the annexed apograph it appears, that the configuration of the characters is much more developed, complete, and defined, than that of the older characters; hence the grant of this *Tessera hospitalis* cannot have long preceded the Carthaginian conquest of these islands, say the 5th century B. C.

We learn from this inscription, that the Government of these islands during the Greek epoch was a mixed hierocratic Republic, formed of a Senate and the people, the administration of Government being entrusted to a Hierothite (Sacerdos) and two Archons; and that the grant was adjudged to Demetrius, son of Diodotus of Syracuse, and his descendants, being at the head of the administration of Government Iceta, Hierothite, and Deereus and Cotetes, Archons.

140. The Latin translation by Gualteri, *inter peregrinas*, is as follows:

DE HOSPITIO PUBLICO ET BE-  
NEVOLENTIA DEMETRIO  
DIODOTI. F. SYRACUSANO  
ET NEPOTIBU SU-  
IS  
SUB SACERDOTE ICETA ICETÆ F. ARCHON-  
TIBUS DEEREO ET COTETE.  
PLACUIT SENATUI ET POPULO  
MELITÆORUM, QUONIAM DEME-  
TRIUS DIODOTI F. SYRACUSIUS SEM-  
PER BENEVOLUS EXTITIT.  
ET PUBLICIS NOSTRIS NEGO-  
CIJS ET SINGULIS CIVI-  
BUS AUTHOR BONI SÆPENUMERO  
FUERIT  
BONÆ FORTUNÆ CENSERI, DEMETRIUM  
DIODOTI F. SYRACUSANUM HOSPI-  
TEM ESSE ET BENEFICUM POPU-  
LI MELITÆORUM ET NE-  
POTES EIUS VIRTUTIS ERGO  
ET BENEVOLENTIÆ QUAM CONTINUO EXHIBET  
IN NOSTRUM POPULUM HÆC VERO  
PUBLICA HOSPITALITAS INSCRIBATUR  
ÆNEIS TABULIS DUABUS ET UNA DE-  
TUR DEMETRIO DIODOTI F. SYRA-  
CUSANO.

## II; Greek.

## MELITENSIS.

Preserved in the Public Library. Epoch of Alexander the Great.

141. The following inscription engraved below the phœnician *Melitensis prima*, on the same Cippi, is its greek translation, the prayer contained in the last clause of the phœnician inscription being omitted.

The phœnician names of *Abdosir* and *Osirschamar* are substituted, in the translation, by the greek names of *Dionysius* and *Serapion*. The custom of adopting a greek, as well as the phœnician name, by the Phœnicians living amongst the Greeks, prevailed after Alexander the Great. So in Dion Laertius, IV pag. 113, Hasdrubal is called Clitomachus; Malchus was after the custom named Porphirius. The same custom prevailed amongst the Jews living in the midst of the Arabs, and at the time of the Seleucidæ and the Romans. Thus, R. Jona ben Ganaach was called Abulwalid; Barhebreus et Abulpharagius, Jannœus et Alexander; Salome, regina Alexandra.

142. In this translation, moreover, *Melkarto Domino Tyri* is returned *Herculi Conductori* (Archagetas). This title was only given to Apollo, first by Theocles, leader of a Greek colony into Sicily from Chalcides, according to Thucydides hist. lib. VI; and afterwards, by the Greeks of Megara and Naxos, and all the Greek leaders of new colonies and founders of new towns, as we are informed by Pindarus, Xenophon, Callimachus and Pausanias. Sallust, De Bello Jug. 89, asserts, that the Phœnicians looked upon the Tyrian Hercules as the founder of their towns; hence, the reason for the greek translation *Herculi Conductori*.

143. Koppius, followed by Gesenius, book II, C. I. states, that this translation could not have been made prior to Alexander the Great, as it refers to the worship of Serapion; but seeing that the characters of the inscription “habeant plenas et legitimas

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΑΓΓΩΝ ΟΙ  
 ΣΑΡΑΓΓΩΝΟΣ ΓΥΡΙΟΙ  
 ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑΡΧΗΓΕΤΕΙ

old uncial Greek characters, incised on the body of the 24 earthenware jars discovered in the ruins of the Marsa in 1768, and described by Marquis Barbaro § VIII.

Marquis Barbaro remarked, that these characters could not point out the potter's marks (*figuline*) as they were *incised* only on the 24 jars which had been already used for some domestic or other purpose, and on none of the other 236 earthenwares. I think the remark of Marquis Barbaro to be very proper, as potter's marks would have been impressed on these jars whilst in a state of paste, before their being baked.

The conjecture of Marquis Barbaro is, that five of these characters were numerical notes, *i. e.* K points out 20, B = 2, OE = 75, NE = 51, a *Thita* = 9. In two other instances they point out two names: one Greek, *Eros* often given to freedmen; another Phœnician, *Chalum*. The rest of these characters point out, either the initials of the names of the owners, or the marks of price or of the liquid to be contained in each vessel.

146. With concern to the epoch of these characters, Marquis Barbaro recording, that the oldest Greek alphabet was made of 13 Phœnician letters brought from Phœnicia into Greece by Cadmus leader of the Colony of Thebes, about B.C. 1500 (Herod. 5. 57, 58; Diod. 5. 24); that four more letters were added to it by Palamedes, during the Trojan war, B.C. 1192; that it was increased by four more by Simonides Melicus in the reform of the Greek alphabet, about B.C. 489; that the changes in the figures of the old greek characters, begun by Simonides, went on up to the epoch of Alexander the Great; and observing, that some of the characters incised upon these earthenware jars had the old Greek figures, and others, the more recent configuration, concluded the epoch of the incision of these characters to be middling between that of Simonides and that of Alexander the Great.

The last inference of Marquis Barbaro on the epoch of the incision of these characters is not thoroughly correct. Modern Oriental Palæographers have shown, that the oldest figures of the greek characters from A to T agree with the twentytwo older Phœnician figures from *Alpha* to *Tau*, both in respect to their configuration and power, and to their alphabetical order and names.



This is an evident proof, that the oriental alphabet was not gradually brought from Phœnicia into Greece, though it was subsequently improved and increased by the Greeks.

With respect to configuration, slight variations in the horizontal strokes more or less joined to the perpendicular stalk, in the component strokes longer or shorter, more or less curved the more oblique being the older ones, are observable; and in the position of characters having arms or lateral processes as B, C, E, F, etc. the variations are due to different ways of writing by the Phœnicians and the old Greeks. The former adhered constantly to writing from right to left, and thus had the processes of the characters turned in the same direction; the latter, originally following the same method of the Phœnicians which they have transmitted to the Etruscans, have subsequently adopted two other ways, namely of writing alternately from right to left and left to right in each case turning the processes of the characters in the direction of the writing, which method being after the fashion of oxen-ploughing was called *bustrophedon*, and then from left to right exclusively, in which direction the processes of the letters were ultimately detained. This last method had prevailed in the time of Herodotus. The old Greeks had another way of writing perpendicularly, like the Chinese.

With respect to power, the only alterations observable, according to Gesenius, in the two alphabets are those rising from different phonetic abilities of the two races. Thus, the expression of the Phœnician aspirated and gutturals is supplied by vowels in the Greek alphabet, and the *Zade*, the *San*, the *Koppa*, and the *Z*, are omitted in the Greek alphabet, the remaining being altogether the eighteen characters, which Aristoteles says were brought by Cadmus, though Pliny, Hist. not. 7. 56, states that number to be sixteen.

Now, on comparing the characters in the correct apographs of Marquis Barbaro with the old greek characters collected, illustrated, and arranged by Boeckh, Dutens, Mionnet, and Gesenius, and with those in *Melitenses* I and II Greek, it will be detected,

that the configuration of great many of them is much nearer to the recent greek forms. Besides, it would be hardly possible to presume these earthenwares to have been the work of the earliest Greek settlers, to assign to the characters incised upon them the epoch pointed out by Marquis Barbaro, say about 400 years B.C. in which period the Carthaginians held these islands up to the Roman conquest in B.C. 216. The Greeks of these islands lived very friendly with the Romans, and there were many greek artificers and artizans during the Roman period; consequently, I believe the epoch of these characters to be early Roman.

147. The following copy is taken from the neat tables IX and X of Marquis Barbaro. I have only added the equivalent Roman characters underneath, and some illustrative notes.

None of the three greek configurations of A, No. 2, 13, 21, is like those in the old Castel Veteran and Metapontine coins collected by Boeckh: those of No. 2 and 21, representing the vulgar greek and latin A, are, comparatively, the more recent. The Phœnician letter-mother of this greek configuration of A is found in *Melitenses* 1, 2, 3.

Though the general greek configuration of B, No. 8, is like that in the old Segestan coins, the wings in those coins are pointed and not rounded as in this form. The Phœnician letter type of the configuration of B is in *Melitenses* 2, 3, 4.

The greek configuration of G, in No. 5, is like that in the old inscriptions No. 8 and 11 of Boeckh. The figure of this letter, however, has had very slight changes, and its oldest form is found even in the most recent monuments. It is derived from the same Phœnician character in *Erycina* 2, 4.

The greek configuration of E, No. 13, is considered primitive by Gesenius; that in No. 3 and 9 is like the form in the old coins of Campania in Naples (Terra di Lavoro); that in No. 4, 5, 11, etc. is the more recent, both of them being slight alterations of the oldest greek character which was precisely like the Phœnician *He* in *Atheniensis prima*, in *Marsalensis*, and in *Sardica*.

1.  K	2.  A N	3.  E N
4.  E M	5.  G E	6.  V P
7.  K O N (?)	8.  B	9.  O E
10.  E N	11.  E N(?) E	12.  F
13.  X A M	14.  C L (?)	15.  L (?)





16.

NE

N E

17.

Jwaa 7 f 4?

L

18.

G N(?)

19.



20.



21.

M A

M

22

R = EPDS

23.

E R O S



The greek character of F, No. 12, is a thorough recent substitution to the old greek character which was like the Latin and its native Phœnician figure in *Melitensis prima*, 2. resembling a hook.

The vulgar and old greek configurations of K, No. 1, 7, appear the same: they were derived from the Phœnician form of this character in *Inscriptio Sardica*, 6.

The greek configuration of L, in No. 14, 15, 17, is one of the many Phœnician varieties of the same character in later times, and in the Numidic inscriptions. The greek vulgar and the latin L are, evidently, the same letter with a prolongation of the leg.

The configuration of M, in No. 4, 13, 21, and of N in No. 2, 3, 10, 16, are quite recent. Those of N, in 7 and 11, appear to be recent Phœnician or Numidic.

The greek configuration of O, in No. 7, 9, 23, is like the native Phœnician figure in *Melitenses prima, tertia* and *quarta*, representing an eye, with or without a point in the middle.

The greek configuration of R, in No. 23, is very like its Phœnician mother in *Melitenses prima*, and *tertia*. That in No. 22 is the recent Phœnician form, found in *Numidicæ quinta* and *sexta* which was likewise adopted by the Greeks and Romans.

#### V; Greek

##### MELITENSIS.

Epoch of Cesar Augustus.

Place of preservation, unknown.

148. The first two lines of this inscription on marble, which was found on a Greek tomb near Notabile, were published by Quintinus in 1536, and after him by Grutherus and Gualteri. Comm. Abela having disinterred the inscription entirely from the place where it was still hidden, it was afterwards published by Reinesius and Castelli.

It commemorates Lucius Castricius, holding the dignity of First of the Maltese and Flamen in the worship of Augustus in

Malta, that Emperor, as we are told by Tacitus, An., being given the honours of Apotheosis by Tiberius. This Castricius was knighted by Augustus for his discovery of the conspiracy of Muræna, and Svetonius in Augustum 56, writes: "He (Augustus) " never relieved any one from prosecution, but in a simple instance " in the case of Castricius who had given information of a con- " spiracy of Muræna."

The first use made of this marble was for the basin of a fountain in the ditch, under the main entrance of Notabile!!! (Abela book. II, not. IV, § XXV).

About 19 years ago, this fountain was destroyed on account of its use being superseded by the new arrangement for the supply of water to the Sanatorium. When I visited the place on the 17th June last, the farmer, who knew of its previous existence, informed me that the fragments of this marble are still buried under the rubbish. I need not dwell on the desirability of recovering this important monument.

149. The Latin translation by Reinesius and Castelli, cl. V, No. IV, is as follows:

LUCIUS. CASTRICIUS. EX. QUIRINA TRIBU  
PRUDENS. EQUES. ROMANUS. PROTOS  
MELITENSIIUM  
ET. PATRUM. PRAEFECTUS. ET. FAMULATUS  
ADDICTUS. DIVI. AUGUSTI . . . . .

The learned Muratori, on the subject of this inscription, referring to the question revived by the Benedictine Father Giorgi, whether the island mentioned by St. Luke, in c. XXVIII v. 7 of the Acts of the Apostles be the Adriatic Meleda or the Mediterranean Malta, writes thus: "Grotius, who with the best " authors holds for Melita in this dispute, quotes an inscription " found in the island in which a certain L. Castricius is styled " Primate (Protos) of the Maltese. Even in St. Luke, Publius " is styled in the same words Primate of the island of Malta. " Nothing could more clearly settle this dispute." Quite of the



same opinion of Muratori is the great Oriental Scholar Bochart, "Geog. Sacra" book I, ch. XXVI, on the subject of the same inscription. When Muratori wrote these words, and Bochart the "Geog. Sacra," the XVIII Latin, Melitensis, was not yet discovered.

### VI; Latin.

#### MELITENSIS.

Epoch of Augustus.

Place of preservation, the Public Library.

150. This inscription was discovered in 1613, on the *Emtarfa* hill, as related by Abela, book II, not. VI, § V, where the Greeks had raised the sumptuous temple of Proserpine, amply repaired at the epoch of the Romans by Crestion, freedman of Augustus.

It was preserved originally by the Archdeacon S. Gusman, and was published by Gualtieri, Spon, Abela, Muratori, Paoli, F. Burmann, and Castelli.

At the foot of this inscription are carved two hearts. It was made after the new arrangement of the provinces of the Roman Empire by Augustus, in B.C. 27., of *Provinciae Senatoriae* governed by Proconsuls under the direct control of the Senate; and of *Provinciae Imperatoræ*, militarily commanded by a Legatus Cæsaris and civilly governed by a Procurator Cæsaris, under the sole control of the Emperor. According to Dion Cassius, "Hist. Rom." lib. LIII, cap. XV, vol. I, Hamburg Edition, the Procurators of Augustus were chosen from his freedmen, and the Order of the Knights. From this inscription it appears, that these islands were governed by Chrestion, one of these Procurators at the time of Augustus, as the Lipari islands were governed by Cornelius Masurus Procurator of Tiberius. This arrangement with respect to Malta, very probably remained up to the Antonines. (*Vide* my Memo. on the discoveries at Notabile).

151. It records, that Chrestion freedman of Augustus and Procurator of these islands, repaired the pillars, the roofing, and the walls of the Temple of Proserpine, which were ready to tumble down, on account of their antiquity; and that he, likewise, gilded the ball.

In the following reading, the words wanting are in smaller characters as supplied by Gualteri, tab. CCCXLI, Mons. Bres, and Canon Testaferrata :—

CHREstion. auG. L<sup>3</sup>. PROC  
 1NSVLarum. MELIT. ET. GAVL  
 COLVMNAS. CVM. FASTIDIIS  
 ET. PARIETIBVS. TEMPLI. DEAE  
 PROSERPINAЕ. VETustate  
 RVINAM. ImminEN  
 tibus . . . . . res  
 TITVIT. SIMVL. PILAM  
 INAVRAVIT.

VII; Latin.

GAULITANA.

Epoch of Tiberius.

Place of preservation ?

152. This inscription picked up from the foundations of a private house belonging to Blasio de Alagona, and afterwards to Giacomo Scriha, Gozo, (Abela, book II, not. VI, § XIII), was published by Gualteri, Abela, and F. Lupi.

It was consecrated by Lutatia, daughter of Cajus and priestess of Augustus, and by M. Livius son of Marcus and Flamen Augusti, to Livia Drusilla wife of Tiberius Nero. This lady, after the death of her husband, was adopted “in gentem Juliam” and married Octavius Augustus. She was worshipped as a Goddess when still living, by the Romans under the several names of Ceres, Juno, Venus, and Diana. *Vide* Dion, L. 60, and Tacitus An. book. I.









153. The following reading is by Father Lupi, Epist. X an. 1753.

CERERI. IVLIAE. AVGVSTAE  
 DIVI. AVGVSTI. MATRI  
 TI. CAESARIS. AVGVSTI  
 LVTATIA. C. F. SACERDOS. AVGVStal  
 IMP. PERPETVI . . . AVG  
 M.LIVI. . . M. F. QVlr. OPTATI. FLaminis  
 IVLIAE. AVGVSTI. IMP. PERPET . .  
 LIBERIS . . . Sibi . . CONSACRAVIt

Canon Agius states, that in the ectype the last word of the fifth line is VXOR, and that the word AVG in the inscription published by Abela, and after him by Gualteri and Father Lupi, must be mistake of print. The reading of Canon Agius is much more intelligible.

VIII; Latin.

MELITENSIS.

Epoch — Early Roman.

Place of preservation ?

154. This fragment of inscription was found, at the time of Comm. Abela, amongst the remains of a large Roman mole at at the inner end of the Marsa piccola, and was published by him book I, not. I, § XLVIII. It was preserved after Abela's time in the Gabinetto S. Giacomo at Körtin, and now it is lost. Its reading by Abela is :

..... IN STATIONE .....  
 MILLE QVINCENT. PASS . . , . .

155. Abela was of opinion, that this marble commemorated the construction of a mole by the Romans, along the shore of the Marsa piccola, as far, say, as the site on which the new premises of the Custom House are built. Marquis Barbaro, in 1768, found really that the length of the old shore of the Marsa piccola

was about 1500 paces, but he is of a different opinion as to the direction of the Roman mole at the Marsa, and the object of the Roman inscription found by Abela. The direction of that mole was, he says, from the site of the new premises of the Custom House, where Abela himself saw some of its relics, towards the Marsa grande, of which the present south western basin is a portion, where Marquis Barbaro observed great many vestiges of that mole and the relics of the three large buildings described in § 102, having seen no traces of the mole on the shore of the Marsa piccola. As to the object of the inscription, Marquis Barbaro contends, that "Statio" appears to have been used by the Romans to signify, either a military station, or, improperly, a place unfit for anchorage, as in Virgil *Æn.* 2, 23, *Statio male fida carinis*; hence, according to Marquis Barbaro, the marble could not refer to the construction of the Roman mole at the Marsa, but to the main military stronghold of the Romans in this place. Marquis Barbaro was not aware, that Virgil, *Georg.* IV, 421, said likewise *Statio tutissima nautis*; and much less historical ground he had to affirm, that the words wanting in this marble recorded the defeat of the Carthaginian presidy under Hamilcar, by the Romans in this spot.

## IX; Greek.

## MELITENSIS.

Epoch — Early Roman.

Place of preservation, the Public Library.

156. This is a fragment of an inscription scratched on reddish plaster, discovered in 1860 by the Architect A. Conti amongst the relics of a polychrome mosaic pavement, in the tenement of *Bir-el-Liun*, Rabato, Notabile. As published by Dr. Vassallo, it reads

## LYBIAE

158. With respect to the epoch in which these Hebrews may have settled in Malta, Magri, in his manuscript notes to "Malta

ויזוער  
ההתנעב

Dr. Vassallo, it reads

LYBIAE



X; Hebrew.

MELITENSIS.

Epoch — Roman.

Ectype lying in one of the fields of *Tabia* and *Ghahresciem* tenement, Rabato, Notabile.

157. This fragment of Hebrew inscription is incised on a large stone slab, which very probably formed the covering of a sepulchre. It contained, evidently, four lines, the upper two being almost effaced; and it is written in old square characters, slightly different from the present ones, which Hebrews adopted from the Aramic Alphabet about the 3rd century A.C.

It was discovered in March of this year, whilst tilling the ground in the same place where it is still to be seen. When I was informed of its discovery, on the 25th June last, I repaired to the spot and took the inserted delineation of it, which is, however, imperfect as I was not permitted by the farmer to copy it a second time. I trust, the good sense and kindness of the owner of the farm, who is a gentleman, will prevail to secure the ectype and allow a good apograph of it to be taken.

The place is not far from *Emtarfa* hill, where on the spot called *Kibir-el-Lhud* (sepulchres of the Hebrews), the accurate Comm. Abela, book I, not. VIII, § XIV, acquaints us, were found many sepulchres in his time, cut in the rock, and bearing Hebrew inscriptions incised on the slabs covering them. How interesting it would have been to have preserved these old Hebrew inscriptions of which the present one is, now, the first of the series! The discovery of this inscription proves, further, that Count Ciantar was mistaken in asserting that the denomination *el-Lhud*, attached to several localities in Malta, as *Ghirien-el-Lhud*, *Torri ta-Lhud*, *Kiber-el-Lhud*, meant the unbelievers, whilst it must have meant exclusively the Hebrews.

158. With respect to the epoch in which these Hebrews may have settled in Malta, Magri, in his manuscript notes to "Malta

Illustrata," on the authority of Josephus Flavius, Ant. Jud. book XVII, ch. XVI, states, that it was anterior to the Roman Emperors, and that Alexander, the feigned son of Herod the Great, on his way to Rome collected a great quantity of money from the Maltese Hebrews who were very wealthy. Here is the evidence of Flavius: "*Præter hæc venit ad Melum, ibi quoque congregat meliora; nam ibi plures ei offerebantur pecuniæ quia ex regio sanguine illum descendere judicabant.*" Magri mistakes the island of Melo, one of the Cyclades near Crete, with Malta, and the Melienses with the Maltese. The probable epoch of the settling of these Hebrews in the island of Malta appears to be that of Tiberius, when all the Hebrews were expelled from Rome, as is related by Flavius, Ant. Jud. book XVIII, ch. VII, or that of Titus after the taking of Jerusalem. They remained up to the time of Ferdinand the Catholic, by whom they were expelled in 1494 as it results from the notarial Acts of Giacomo Sabbara, which, good Comm. Abela observes, was very properly done.

### XI; Latin.

#### GAULITANA.

#### Epoch of Adrian.

Place of preservation, on the exterior wall of the Chapel "della Addolorata," between the door of the Church and that of the Capuchin Convent, Gozo.

159. This inscription was found out at Gozo, place and date unknown, and by order of the Knight Riscard Nini de Claret, Governor of the island, placed in one of the corners of the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria, as recorded by Gualteri, tab. 353.

The series of inscriptions, mentioning the existence of Municipal Institutions and Municipal Orders in these islands, dates from this epoch.

160. The inscription was erected, through contribution by the people of Gozo, to C. Vallius Patron of the Municipality, one of

the four quinquennial Magistrates of the Order of the Decurions of Hadrian, by the Divine Antonine elect one of the 400 Decurions, having honorably gone through all the honours of his Town, (?) and gratuitously served as a Legate before the Emperor Hadrian, and the most magnificent Order for the "Restitution (redhibitio) of ships (?)

The reading is restored by Gualtieri and Bress as follows :

C. Vallio (1) QVIR. POSTVmo. MVNICIPII. pat  
imp. hADRIANI. PERPETVI. IIIIV. QVINQ. DECVR. IV. DI (2)  
inter. QVATRINGENARIOS. (3) A. DIVO. ANTO  
nino. PIO. OMNIBVS. HONORIBVS. CIVITATIS. SVAE. HO  
norificE. FVNCTO. ITEM. LEGATIONE. GRATVITA. APVD  
imp. HADRIANVM. ET. APVD. AMPLISSIMVM. ORDINEM  
DE. navaLIB. REDHIBENDIS (4) PLEBS. GAVLITANA. EX  
AERE. CONlato. obPLVRA. MERITA. EIVS. D.D,

(1) The substitution of C. Vallio to the words wanting is suggested by the following inscription XII, in which M. Vallius is called son of Cajus Vallius.

(2) That is " IIII viro quinquennali Decurionum Juredicundo."

(3) Inter "quadringenarios decuriones" sorte a numero sic dicti (Gualtierius) pag.131,

(4) Gualtieri restores "de Libertis redhibendis."

## XII; Latin.

### GAULITANA.

#### Epoch of the Antonines.

Place of preservation, at the entrance "del Castello," Gozo.

161. At the time of Canon Agius, this inscription in honor of Marcus Vallius was inlaid in one of the walls, in the main entrance of the old town of the sister island of Gozo.

The epoch of its discovery is not given by our historians, but since the time of Gualtieri, Abela, Muratori, Lupi, and Castelli, it is preserved "ad portam opidi" of the same island.

162. The inscription states that a statue (?) was raised, by contribution from the people of Gozo, to Marcus Vallius, honoured with a public horse (knighted) by Antonine for his merits, and

to comfort C. Vallius, the one mentioned in the preceding inscription, his father.

The missing letters are supplied in small characters by Gualtieri, tab. 348, in the following reading :

M. VALLIO. CF. QVIR. RVFO. EQVO. pu-  
BLICO. EXORNATO. A. DIVO. ANTONI  
NO. AVG. PIO. PLEBS. GAVLITANA. EX  
AERE. CONLATO. s. p. OB. MERITA. ET. IN  
SOLACIVM. C. VALLI. POSTVMI. PATRO  
NI. MVNICIPIII. PATRIS. EIVS  
. . . . . mATEr . . . . .

### XIII; Latin.

GAULITANA.

Epoch of the Antonines.

Place of preservation ?

163. The circumstances of the discovery of this inscription are unknown ; but when it was published the first time by Gualtieri, to whom a copy was delivered by Abela, it was encased in the base of one of the pillars in front of St. George's Church, Rabato, Gozo. Some time after, it was removed and placed in the wall at the foot of the steps leading to the Castello, Abela, book II, not. VI § X.

164. The inscription was consecrated by the Order of the Decurions to the Emperors M. Aurelius, Antoninus Pius, and Septimus Severus. Its reading by Abela and Gualtieri, tab. 350, is as follows :

. . . . . TI  
. . . . . S . . . .  
IMP. M. AVREL. ANTON  
NI. PII. AVGVSTI. L. SEPTI  
MI. SEVERI. PERTI  
NACIS. AVG. ARABici  
ADIABENICI. PARTHi  
CI. MAXIMI. Pont. max  
ORDO. DECVRIONVM  
. . . . IVRI . . . VTE . . . PVBLI  
. . . . MO . . . . . STO



## XIV; Latin.

GAULITANA.

Epoch of the Antonines.

Place of preservation ?

165. The following inscription, found on the 31st October 1760 by Canon Agius in changing the altar in the chapel of the "Anime," at St. Giorgio's, Rabato, is recorded in the "Gozo Antico e Moderno," in the last page of the additions. It is as follows :

AVR. L  
QVAV . . I . .  
GINTAGI  
CALEND

## XV; Latin.

GAULITANA.

Epoch of the Antonines.

Place of preservation ?

166. Count Ciantar, "Malta Illustrata," book II, not. VI. § XVI, 1772, published another large fragment of a Roman inscription, preserved in his time in a corner of the church of St. Giorgio, Rabato, Gozo, the circumstances of its discovery being unknown.

Its reading has not yet been restored. It runs thus :

NAHOPE. QVIR . . .  
CVID . . . . . III  
. . . . QVIR (1) . . . anto  
NINO . . . I . . PLEBS  
GAVLITANA . . . . . ,  
INR . . . . . N . . . B . . .  
CELSO . . . . .  
IVRIS . . . . .  
LIVS . . . . .

(1) Quadrumviro.

**XVI; Latin.****GAULITANA.**

Epoch of the Antonines.

Place of preservation ?

167. The following is another large fragment of a Roman inscription, published by Count Ciantar in 1772, book II, not. VI, § XVI, and *Dissertatio Apolog.*, and seen by him embedded in the wall near the entrance "del Castello." Gozo.

It bears a heart engraved at the beginning of the inscription and two at the end, and records that it was erected by care of a pagan Pontiff, named P. M. It reads thus :

D. N. M. CATERIC . . . .  
DALE . . . . MAXIMVS  
antoniNO . . . . .  
IMP . . . . C . . . CVRantE  
P.M. (1) PONTifice. ET. RVF . . .  
MA . . . M. N. . . . I . . . .  
. . . . . EVER . . . . R  
. . . . O . . . . . - .  
. . . . .

(1) Publio Marcio ?

**XVII; Latin.****MELITENSIS.**

Epoch of the Antonines.

Place of preservation. The square opposite the Cathedral Church.

168. This very interesting inscription, of which the first three lines are wanting, was dug out at Notabile amongst the remains of the temple of Apollo opposite and near to the Monastery of San Benedetto and the old Municipal house, in 1747. It is engraved on the marble base of one of the pillars, or of some statue, in the same temple. It was preserved after its discovery in the atrium of the Municipal house, and about 32 years ago

was removed to one of the corners in the square opposite to the Cathedral Church, at Notabile, where it is heaped with the other relics. Besides the main portion, there is a separate fragment of the same inscription in the same place.

It is stated in the inscription, that the first of all the Maltese of the Municipality consecrated the altar of Apollo, erected the theatre of marble, and four pillars in the vestibule, the stage and the low projecting basement of it, spending 1792 sestertii, and that in acknowledgement of his liberality the Maltese, by a general collection of money, erected to him a statue.

169. Count Ciantar was the first to attempt to restore its reading, book I, not II, § IX, which was approved by the Royal Academy of Inscriptions, Paris. The same attempt was afterwards repeated by Cardinal S. Borgia, Canon Agius, and the learned Zaccaria.

I prefer the following reading of Mons. Bres :

municiPI. MEL. PRIMVS. OMNium  
fecIT. ITEM. AEDEM. MARMOREam  
apOLLINIS. CONSECRAVIT. ITEM. Pro  
prONAO. COLVMNAS. IIII. ET. PARAscenium  
ET. PODIVM. ET. PAVIMENTVM  
colLOCAVIT. IN. QVOD. OPVS. VNIVERsum  
liberaLITATE. SVA. HS. CXDCCXCII. S. Q. (1)  
mELITENSIVM. DESIDERIVM. Omnium  
aeRIS. CONLATIONE. S. S. (2)

(1) Solvitque. F. Zaccaria reads "Senatusque."

(2) The reading of the last two lines is thus supplied by F. Zaccaria: mELITENSIVM DESIDERIVM. *Optimi municipis* praeveniens et statuam aeRIS. CONLATIONE. decrevit.

### XVIII; Latin.

MELITENSIS.

Epoch of the Antonines.

Place of preservation. By the Rev. V. Vassallo of Notabile.

170. This inscription, equally interesting as the preceding, was found in 1868, in the same locality at Notabile. It is still

inedited, and alludes to some further repairs and decorations in the temple of Apollo. It reads thus :

CLAVDIVS. IVLIVS. Patro  
NVS. MVNICIPii . . . ,  
MARMOREVM. CVM. SIMVlacro  
ET. OMNI. SVO. ORNATV . . .  
DECVRIONATVS . . . . .  
SECVNDVM. POLLICITATionem  
EXTRVXIT. CONSECRAvit  
QVOD. OPUS. AMPLIVSQVE  
EROGavit . . . . .

**XIX ; Greek.**

MELITENSIS.

Epoch of the Antonines.

Preserved in the collection of Mr. G. M. Bonavita.

171. This Greek inscription on marble, having at the top a crown of laurel over two dauphins, is in a very good state of preservation. I was unable to glean the circumstances of its discovery.

It was published the first time in the "Civiltà Cattolica," 17th September of this year, and records an offer by Syron for the well being and safety of the Emperor Antoninus, and the Roman Senate and People.

The following reading is by Father Garrucci :

PRO. SALVTE. ET. PERPETVITATE. IMPERATORIS. CÆSARIS  
TE. ÆLII. HADRIANI ANTONINI. AVGVSTI. PII  
ET. TOTIVS. DOMVS. IPSIVS. ET. POPVLI. ROMANI  
ET. SACRI. SENATVS. SYRION. DEMI. FILIVS

**XX ; Latin.**

MELITENSIS.

Epoch of the Antonines ?

172. This fragment of inscription on marble, alluding to the Order of the Decurions, was found in the relics of *Sakkaja*,



Notabile, in February 1881. It is preserved at present in the Office of the Superintendent of Public Works.

DECVR

**XXI; Latin.**

MELITENSIS. (?)

Epoch of the Consulate of Pudens and Orfitus, A.D. 164.

Place of preservation and discovery, unknown.

173. This inscription was first published by Panvinus, and then by Grutherus in *Corpus Inscriptionum*, DCCLI, 3.

It is a sepulchral inscription raised to the memory of the Maltese Lady Ælia Flavia, aged 31 years, 3 months, and 10 days, by her husband F. Fl. Hymnus after 13 years of marriage, and by her sons and daughters.

D.M. ET. SOMMO. AETERNALI  
SECVRITATI. MEMORIAEQ. PERPET  
AELIAE. FLAVIAE. MELITANAE  
Q. V. AN. XXXI. M. III. D. X  
F. FL. HYMNVS. CONJVGI. SANCTISSIMAE  
DVLCISSIMAE. Q. CVM. QVA. VIXIT. AN. XIII  
T. T. FLL. COL. MARCELLVS. EF. TITIANVS  
ET. FLAVIA. T. F. AMPELLE. MATRI. PIENTISS  
SARCOPHAGO. SIGIL. CVM. OPERE. ET. BASIBVS  
FECER. ET. CONSECRAVERVNT. IDIBVS. AVGVSTIS  
PVDATE. ET. ORFITO. COSS

**XXII; Latin.**

GAULITANA.

Epoch of Septimius Severus.

Place of preservation ?

174. Like the preceding Gozo inscriptions, the circumstances of the discovery of this Roman inscription are unknown.

When published by Abela, book II, not. VI, § XIII, and by Gualtieri, tab. 351, it was still fixed in the base of one of the

pillars at St. George's Church, Rabato, Gozo; but Count Ciantar book II, not. VI § XIII writes, that it was afterwards removed to the top of the steps leading to the Castello.

175. This inscription was dedicated by the Municipality of Gozo to the Lady Julia Augusta, mother of the Army, wife of the Emperor Septimius Severus, by the care of Dapsinus Patron of that Municipality.

The following reading was restored by Ciantar (*Ibid.*) and Mons. Bres, book V, ch. II, who are very right in restoring in the first line DOMNAE, and not DOMITIANAE like Gualtieri and Abela, or DONNINÆ like Grutherus.

IVLIAE. DOMnaE. AVG  
MATRI. CastrORVM  
IMP. CAES. L. SEPTIMI  
SEVERI. PERTINACIS  
AVGusti. conIVGI  
MVNICIPIVM. GAVL  
GVL. P. P.  
CVRANTE. DAPSI  
no. mun. patroNO

The two P. P. at the end of the seventh line are understood by Canon Agius "Pœcunia propria."

#### XXIII; Latin.

GAULITANA.

Epoch of the Consulate of the Æmilians according to Abela, book II, not. VI, § XV, A.D. 244 (?).

Place of preservation. The Public Library.

176. Abela, book II, not. VI, § XV, relates that this inscription was seen by him at the entrance of the Castello, Gozo, under a statue five feet ten inches high, of which he gives a drawing in tab. II, fig. 2, and which is now lost. Another Latin inscription, reported by Agius, states, that the ectype of this

Roman inscription was found at the time of Grand Masters Aloff de Wignacourt and Mendez de Vasconcellos in 1622, and was subsequently encased in the wall at the entrance del Castello, in the year 1623, by Grand Master Paula.

177. This inscription was erected by Marcus Marcianus in honour of Cestius Lucius, son of Poampus, Patron of the Municipality of Gozo, the best and dearest of friends.

Its reading by Abela and Bres is somewhat different from that of Count Ciantar, who instead of Poampi in the first line reads P. O. AMPL (*Patri Optimo Amplissimo*).

The following reading is reported by Valerius Probus.

CESTIO. L. F. POAMPI. GALLO. VA  
 RENIANO. LVTATIO. NATALI. AEMI  
 LIANO. PATRONO. MVNICIPII  
 L. MARCIVS. MARCIANVS. AMICO. OPTIMO  
 V. KARISSIMO. SIBI. HONORIS. CAVSA. S. L. (1)  
 (1) Sacrum Ludum.

Prince Torremuzza in the first line reads Pompt. *i. e.* *ex Pomptina Tribu*, which reading is inconsistent with the other inscriptions, from which it is clearly gleaned that the Maltese were ascribed to the Quirine Tribe — *Vide* my Mem. on the recent discoveries at Notabile.

#### XXIV; Latin.

GAULITANA.

Epoch of Constantius.

Place of preservation?

178. The place and date of discovery are unknown. When first published by Gualtieri, Abela, and Lupi, it was encased in one of the sides of the Church of St. George at Rabato, Gozo. One heart is engraved at the beginning of the inscription and two at the end.

179. There is a difference in the reading of the fifth line. Gualtieri and Abela, followed by Marquis Barbaro, read III Vir

and comparing this reading with that of a legend on an old Roman coin "III VIR R.P.C.," they infer that the judicial power in each of these islands, at the time of the Romans, was exercised by *Triumvirs*. Mons. Bres reads *IIII Vir*, which alludes to the *Quadrumviri* of the judicial Magistracy elected for the period of five years, clearly mentioned in the second line of inscription XI, and which existed according to Panvinus in all considerable municipalities, those of minor rank having only two such Magistrates. Indeed, in none of the Roman Municipalities it is known that *triumviral* Magistrates have existed, except on two occasions in Rome, to one of which belongs the medal on which is coined the epigraph quoted by Abela. The reading of Mons. Bres is, besides, quite conformable to that of inscriptions Nos. XI and XXVI recording these *quadrumviri*.

The inscription states, that it was dedicated to the honour of Our Lord C. Aurelius Constantius Augustus by the Republic of Gozo, through the care of Pollio Rufus, son of M., one of IV Magistrates.

Its reading restored by Mons. Bres, is as follows :

D.N.C. AVR. vaLErio  
COSTANTIO. AVG  
R. P. GAVL. CVRante  
F. POLLIONE . . . RVFO  
M. F. . . . . IIIIVIR. juR. DIC

This Aurelius Constantius was evidently Constantius Chlorus, father of Constantine the Great, who was, besides, named Flavius Valerius. No coins and no other inscriptions are known in which he is called by the name of Aurelius.

**XXV; Latin.**

GAULITANA.

Epoch of Constantine.

Place of preservation unknown.

180. Canon Agius, by whom this inscription is reported in his "MSS. Il Gozo Antico e Moderno, Sacro e Profano" C. VI,



states, that the following inscription, in the year 1741, was placed near the statue of Lady Julia, in the entrance of the Castello. Neither Father Lupi, nor Father Allegranza, or Count Ciantar when his edition of "Malta Illustrata" by Abela with additions was published in 1772, had seen it. It is as follows :

. . . . IANO . . EQVI . . ,  
 COnstanTINO  
 . . . RND . . . . .  
 . . NID . . . . AS . . . .  
 DIVO IMP , . . . GAVLITANA  
 PS. P. C. . . SON . . . TO . QVOD  
 . . . . .  
 NÆ . , . . . NA  
 EXST . . . . . NI  
 CC . . . ILIA EXORNAVit. PVII  
 IIROCV . . . . SINID . . . OPVS  
 . . . HS. CC . . . IROS. ALIAS. COM  
 . . , PLVRES. SIBI. R. M. AN . . .  
 PIVS . . . D . . . D

XXVI; Latin.

GAULITANA.

Epoch of Galerius Max.

Place of preservation ?

181. The epoch of the discovery of this inscription is unknown, but Father Allegranza, by whom it is reported in the "Giornale dei Letterati," in his visit to these island in 1752, saw the ectype embedded in the front of a pilaster in the ascent to the Castello.

D. N. M. GALERIO  
 VALERIO. MAXIMIANO  
 AVG  
 P. GAVL. CVR . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . .  
 . . . . . IIIIVIRR

This is the only inscription known in which the name of Marcus, besides his other names, is given to the Emperor Galerius. In all his coins he is named Cajus Galerius Valerius Maximianus.

**XXVII; Latin.**

MELITENSIS.

Epoch — Early Christian.

Place of preservation unknown.

182. This inscription was found on a christian tomb in Malta, as reported by Mons. Bres, book V, ch. VII, and published by Gualtieri, tab. 347 ex Orthographia Ald. Manutii.

It was erected by Dicanilia and Coelia on the tomb of a Christian in Malta, who was, respectively, the husband of the one and the father of the other, and reads thus :

D I C A N I L I A  
M A R I T I M O  
C O N I V G I  
P I E N T I S S I M O  
E T C O E L I A  
M A R I T I M O  
P A T R I . . D V L C I S  
S I M O . E T . C O B

**XXVIII; Latin.**

MELITENSIS.

Epoch — Early Christian.

Place of preservation, the Public Library.

183. This is a fragment of a sepulchral epigraph engraved on marble, found in the neighbourhood of the Cemetery of S. Venera at Rabato, Notabile. It preserves a portion of the Labarum engraved at the beginning of the second line and reads thus :

. . . B A (1) I N . P A C E . B I X I T (2)  
V K L S . A G V S T A S (3)

(1) Dr. Vassallo restores it COLVMB A.

(2) For VIXIT.

(3) V. KALENDAS AVGVSTAS (28th July).

**XXIX; Latin.**

MELITENSIS.

Epoch — Early Christian.

Place of preservation, the Public Library.

184. This latin inscription, incised on a lead tablet, was discovered about the year 1875, within the rubbish of the exterior wall of the ditch of Notabile, near the *Gharrekin* Gate. I have lately purchased it for the Museum of the Public Library.

It is a sepulchral epigraph, in the early christian style, having a dove at the bottom bearing an olive branch. As I attempt to restore its reading, it states to have been erected on the tomb of Idomenus and Valeria, husband and wife, by Fufica, Curtius and others, who probably were their relations. It is inedited, and reads thus :

D. M.  
FVFICA. CALENE  
C V R T I V S. O I A D V S  
IDOMENO. COIVGI  
FECERVNT. et VALERiæ  
BENEMERENTI

**XXX; Latin.**

MELITENSIS.

Epoch — Early Christian.

Place of preservation, the Public Library.

185. This inscription was found in May 1874, in a tenement belonging to Mr. N. Sacco on the northern side of the hill *tal Gisuiti*, at the Marsa, near the Christian Cemetery found on the same occasion.

It is in the early christian style, having a small boat at the top, and was erected by the citizens to the well deserving Flavius Titus, aged 55 years. It reads thus :

D. M.  
FLAVIVS TITVS  
VIXIT ANNOS  
LVCIVESBE (1)  
NEMERENTI  
FECERVNT

(1) VIXIT ANNOS LV CIVES BENEMERENTI.

## XXXI; Latin.

GAULITANA.

Epoch — Early Christian.

Place of preservation — The Convent of the Augustinians, Valletta.

186. This interesting sepulchral inscription on marble, still inedited, was dug out at Gozo in the country district called *It-Tomba*, where there is a vast Christian Cemetery still unexplored.

It was presented to the Convent of the Augustinians of Rabato, Notabile, and then removed to the Convent of the same Order in Valletta.

The epigraph records, that Q. Lutatius had prepared that grave for himself and his wife Junia, in their life time.

Q. LVTATIVS Q. F. QVIR  
LONGINVS VIVOSSIBI ET  
IVNIAE C. F. VERAT . . . .  
VXORI. SANCTISSIME · FECIT

“NE PEREANT.”

## XXXII.; Greek.

MELITENSIS.

Epoch — Byzantine period

Place of preservation ?

187. This inscription was dug out in a cemetery at the *Ghзира*, Marsa, in the time of Grand Master Paula, and a copy of it was sent by Comm. Abela, book I, not. IV, § XXIV, to Gualtieri by whom it was published.

It records a cemetery purchased and renewed by Zosimus.

The Latin translation by Gualtieri, tab. 340, is as follows :

CAEMETERIVM  
EMPTVM  
AZOSIMO  
QVOD  
INNOVA  
VIT



**XXXIII; Latin.**

MELITENSIS.

Epoch — Byzantine period (?).

Place of preservation ?

188. This is a sepulchral inscription engraved on stone, found at Rabato of Notabile behind the Church of S. Pubblio, and preserved in the collection of Abela up to certain time, book I, note IV, § XXIV.

According to its reading restored by Abela, it records the place of rest of BO ?, who lived in this world 55 years, and died in peace on the 30th August, 12th Indiction.

IN hoc loco IACET  
B O N E M E M O R I E  
B O . . . . Qui BICsIT ( 1 )  
IN hoc SECuLO AN  
NIS LVEt Qui EBIT ( 2 )  
IN paCE sub os G. KAL. SE p ( 3 )  
TE BRE INDICTIO  
NE duodECIMA †  
† . . . . .

(1) Vixit.

(2) Quievit.

(3) In pace sub osculo tertio Kalendas &amp;c.

**XXXIV; Greek.**

MELITENSIS.

Epoch — Byzantine period (810).

Place of preservation ?

189. This interesting inscription was found in a sepulchre under the Oratory of St. Joseph, adjoining the Church of the "Minori Osservanti," Rabato, Notabile, in the time of Count Ciantar (book II, not. IV, § XXXII).

It was first published by Muratori, and then by Count Ciantar, and records the place of rest of the venerable Domesticus,

a Christian Physician, aged 73 years, and dead on the 29th January, 810. The following is its Latin translation :

HIC IACET DOME  
STICVS VENERABILIS  
CHRISTIANVS ET MEDICVS  
VIXIT AN LXXIII  
SEPULTUS EST IN HAC TERRA  
IN KALEND. FEBRUARII  
AN. 810.

XXXV; Greek.

MELITENSIS.

Epoch — Byzantine period.

Place of preservation, unknown.

190. Count Ciantar, book. II, not. IV. § XXXIII, published another greek Christian inscription, once existing on the pediment of a small Church of St. Helen at Cospicua, now profaned and forming part of a garden near St. Elena Gate. Count Ciantar did not give a reading of it, but states that it contained “ an invocation to the Supreme Being, True Good, and Sovereign Power on all created things, in order to obtain fertility, piety, and help under the present calamitous circumstances, and resurrection to glory and immortal life.”

He mentions (*Ibid.*) another fragment of an inscription placed on a tomb, bearing the name of “ Crispia.”

191. Besides the above reported inscriptions, belonging to the græco-roman paleography of these islands, there are some other exotical greek and græco-roman inscriptions, in which, according to several eminent greek Scholars, reference is made to distinguished Maltese personages.

The first of these inscriptions was found in Athens, and is preserved at Venice ; it may belong to an epoch approximate to the 109th Olympiad. This greek inscription incised on a marble column, having at foot nine crowns with as many inscriptions,

was first published with its latin translation by Grutherus, "Corpus Inscriptionum CCCCXV, by Gualteri, and by Count Ciantar, "Malta Illustrata" book II, not. IV, § XXIX.

The subject of this long inscription is, that after a speech by Menander, *Menandri F. Melitensis*, to the Senate and the people of Athens, a gold crown was decreed to Eubulus of Marathon, for important services rendered to the Republic. This Eubulus was the Archon of Athens in the 4th year of the 108th Olympiad, B.C. 345.

192. The second of these inscriptions was found at Athens by Mr. Chandler, Inscript. par. II, No. 120 ; and was transferred to Malta, where it is at present preserved in the collection at the Public Library, by Prince Victor de Rohan, in 1789, who presented it to his uncle Gr. M. De Rohan.

This greek inscription, incised on a large base of marble, was first published at Rome by the learned Schow in 1788, and translated into Latin and interpreted by Ab. Gioacchino Navarro, "*Interpretazione di una pregievole greca iscrizione*, 1789."

The subject of this inscription records, "that it was dedicated to the "*Yerophanta of Neothera (Proserpine) Claudia Philoxena, daughter of Tiberius Claudius Lysias "Patronus Melitensis," who silvered over the altar of the goddess Neothera, having care of the dedication her son Ti. Claudius Lysiades, son of Ti. Claudius Patronus Melitensis, in the time of the priestess Cl. Timothea.*"

193. The third inscription was discovered in the forum of Athens, and published and translated by Muratori, "Thesaurus Ins. pag. 1054, No. 6," and Prince de Torremuzza, "Classis XIV No. LXXXVI. In this inscription mention is made of Metrodorus and Dionysius "*Melitenses.*"

194. Polybius, Hist. book V, records honorably the Maltese Phoxidas to whom, together with Echerates of Thessaly, was committed the preparation of the armaments and the enlistment

of soldiers for the defence of Alexandria by Ptolemy Euergetes against Antiochus Theus of Syria. Cicero, in Ep. 52. book XIII to Rex, calls A. Licinius “Aristoteles Melitensis antiquissimus hospes meus, et conjunctus magno usu familiaritatis.” And in Verrem IV, he writes of “Diodorus Melitensis” with a great distinction.

195. I have omitted to report the three Attic inscriptions above mentioned, §§ 191, 192, and 193, as they do not belong to the paleography of these islands. It is, moreover, to be remarked that the greek word translated *Melitensis* by Grutherus, Gualteri, Pr. de Torremuzza, Muratori, and Count Ciantar, in the ectypes is ΜΕΛΙΤΕΥΣ, *i. e.* of Melite. The learned Father Corsini proves that Melite, where Phocion and Themistocles had their dwelling places, was one of the quarters of Athens inhabited by one of the CLXXIV peoples of Attica; and the Athenian Diocles is by Plutarch himself, in Lycurgo Rhetore, called ΜΕΛΙΤΕΥΣ. In another greek inscription found in Athens, interpreted and read by Sig. Visconti to the Institute of France on the 7th July 1809, the Sophist Julius Theodorus, to whom the monument was erected by his followers, is also called of Melite. Hence, the translation of the greek word ΜΕΛΙΤΕΥΣ into *Melitensis* does not seem to be warranted.

196. Cluverius, “De variis Sic. nominibus atque incolis, book II, ch. 10; and Bretius, “Parallela Geographica Italiæ, part II, book V, publish three letters of Phalaris, Tyrant of Agragas (Agrigentum, modern Girgenti), one of which, the XLVI, addressed to the Egestians, and the LXXXII and CXVIX to the Maltese. In the former, Phalaris reminds the Egestians that he reduced to slavery the Leontines for having dared to submerge one of his galleys, and that he helped the Maltese for having recovered it for him. By the second, he advances some money on loan to the Maltese Republic, which was loyal to him.

The Cretan Phalaris, contemporary of Servius Tullius of



Rome, according to Eusebius began his Rule at Agrigentum on the third year of the 52nd Olympiad up to the fourth year of the 57th Olympiad, having been put to death by the people of Agrigentum in that year; that is to say, from 570 to 549 B.C. This correspondence, then, must have taken place about 130 years after the Greek settlement in these islands.

The letters of Phalaris were first brought to notice by Stobæus in the 2nd century A.C., and there is an Italian translation of them printed in Venice by Giolitto in 1549, and a Latin translation by Francesco d'Arezzo.

Wandalinus, *De Melita Pauli*, Lug. Bath 1732, and Comm. Abela, *Malta Illustrata*, book II, not. IV §§ XXIV and XXV, following the old Bonfiglio, Cluverius, Bosio, and Bretius, are very sanguine about the genuineness of these letters; and in the ruins of *Gorghenti* near Siggieui, in Malta, they recognize the relics of a palace erected by the græco-maltese Republic in honour of the Tyrant of Acragas.

Thomas Bentley in 1697, and again in 1699, proved these letters to be apocryphal, and the learned Fabricius, *Biblioth. Græca*, book. II, cap. 107, suspects them to be the composition of the Sophist Adrian, author of some works on Phalaris at the time of the Roman Emperor Antoninus Pius.

#### CLASS XV.

##### **Græco-Maltese Numi.**

197. The undisputed Græco-Maltese coins are eleven, besides four of doubtful character: they are all third brass, though Marquis Barbaro, § IX, mentions one first brass recovered from the relics of the Marsa in 1768. They are remarkable for regularity of type and elegance of coinage, of which Niderstedts in *Thesaurus Granov.* v. IV, book II, ch. VI, writes: “numismata ænea affabre facta in Melita insula reperta,” and F. Burmann “commendanda Melitæ preclaræ notissimæque insulæ numismata.”

The absence of the discovery of any gold or silver coins,

whether Phœnician or Greek, in these islands, which were so flourishing during those two epochs, is still subject of great curiosity. Count Ciantar believes, that the gold and silver coins of those two periods might have been withdrawn from circulation, in order that another use might have been made of their precious materials.

This is very probable; and it may have been done by the Carthaginians, whose Government was hated by the natives, for the purpose of reminting them into Punic gold and silver coins for circulation in these islands, of which there are several in Malta and many in European collections.

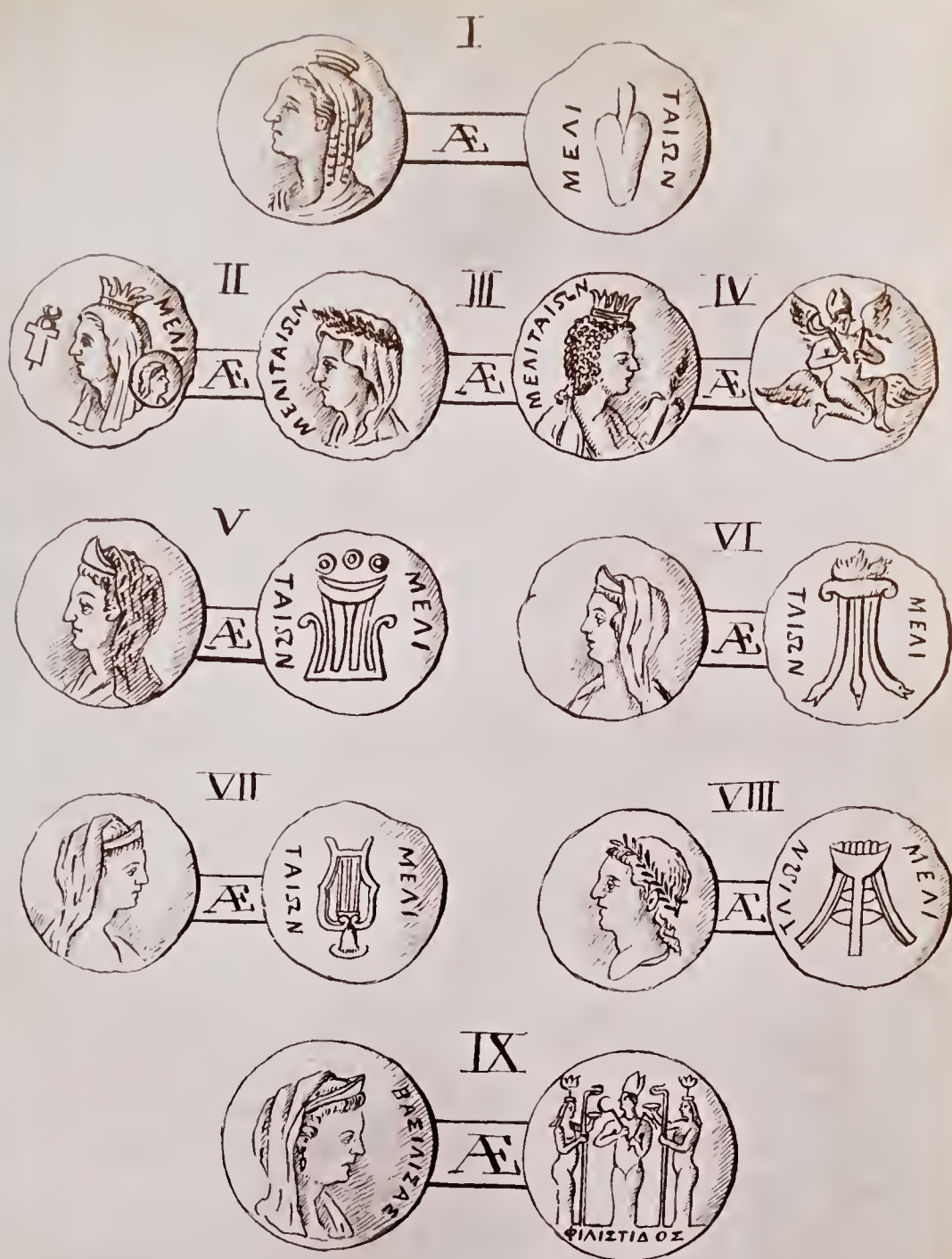
198. I; VI Mons. Bres. On obverse: a female head covered with something like a bushel measure, or a tower. On reverse: a helm or an oar, and the greek legend "MELITAION."

It was published by Quintinus, Paruta, Bochart, Gessner, Torremuzza, and Rasche, who explain the female head on the obverse as Juno's head. Mons. Bres, comparing it with Phœnician coins of the epoch of the Seleucidæ published by Vaillant representing a similar figure, believes it to be the head of Astarte.

199. II; VII, Bres. On obverse: a female head covered with a bell-flower, the caduceus covered with a garment, and the legend MELI. On the right-hand, there is a stamp of another female head, explained as a countermark either of the coin or of increase of value. On reverse: a male figure seated, winged on the shoulders and hips, bearing a mitre on the head, (*Mitra Melitensis*), a sickle in the right and a whip in the left hand, like the figure on reverse of coin No. 1 Phœnico-Maltese.

The Græco-Maltese coin found at Marsa in 1768, and reputed first brass by Marquis Barbaro, was of this type.

This Græco-Maltese coin was first published by Begerus who thought the figure on obverse to represent Queen Philistides of Syracuse; and by Abela, Hawercampius, De Combe, and Torremuzza, who believed the same figure to represent



*Græco-Maltese Numi.*

*Formosa Phot.*





Juno's head. Mons. Bres, comparing this figure with an Astarte bearing on the head the bell-flower (*convolvulum*), published by Montfaucon, tom. II, part II. tab. CLXXIX, fig. 2, believes it to be a representation of that Phœnician goddess. The caduceus, as on obverse of the IV Phœnico-Maltese coin, is the mark of trade to which a garment in this Greek coin is added to note especially the textile industry, for which these islands were so renowned.

The figure on reverse, being unprovided of the winged galerus and having its lower wings attached to the hips, with agricultural tools in the hands, cannot be Mercury; according to Hawercampus and Gessner it is an Osiris, according to De Combe a Mithras, and according to Bres an Adonis.

200. III; VIII, Bres. On obverse: a female head bearing a crown of wheat-ears, and the legend MELITAION. On reverse: the same as the preceding one.

The head on this coin is probably that of Ceres, Ovid. Fast. 3. having sung

FERTILIS EST MELITE.

201. IV; IX, Bres. On obverse: a female head with curled hair according to Bres, or covered with a maltese dog's skin according to Gonovius, or a gemmed cap according to Gessner, with a bell-flower over it; an ear of corn on the right, and the legend MELITAION on the left. On reverse: the same as in No. II.

202. V; X, Bres. On obverse: a female head with diadem resembling the figure on obverse of Nrs. I, II, III, V, phœnico-maltese coins, and covered with a veil trimmed with ears of corn. On reverse: a tripod with three crowns over it, exactly the same as on reverse of No. III phœnician, and the legend MELITAION.

203. VI; XI, Bres. On obverse: a female head covered with a diadem of the phœnician type. On reverse: a flaming tripod and the legend MELITAION.

Hawercampius, Castelli, Rasche, Burmann jun., and Bres, consider it to be a coin dedicated to Juno; Abela, misled by the flaming tripod of Apollo on the reverse, was of opinion that it represented Vesta.

204. VII; XII, Bres. On obverse: a female head crowned with diadem. On reverse: a lyre with the legend MELITAION.

This coin was published by Abela, Hawercampius, Castelli and De Combe, and, like the preceding, it was probably struck in honour of Juno and Apollo.

205. VIII; XIII, Bres. On obverse: a male head crowned with laurel. On reverse: a tripod and the legend MELITAION.

This coin was published by Abela, Hawercampius, Castelli, and Eckkel. It was, evidently, a medal struck in honour of Apollo.

206. IX; XIV, Bres. On obverse: a female head with diadem, and the legend "BASILISAS." On reverse: the same three figures as on reverse of No. I Phœnician coin, and at the bottom the legend "PHILISTIDOS."

It was published by Swinton, who extracted it from the Museum of Bodley in the philosoph. transactions, v. 60 pag. 80, in 1770, and proves that Queen Philistides of Syracuse ruled also over these islands.

207. X; XV, Bres. On obverse: a female head helmeted, and the crescent moon below. On reverse: a warrior holding a shield in the left hand, and brandishing a spear with the right; legend GAYLITON.

It was published by Hawercampius, who considered the figure on obverse to be Minerva, and by Guseme and Saint-Non, who pronounced it to represent Diana. The figure on reverse is Mars.

208. XI. Prince de Torremuzza published 3 other third brass græco-gaulitani coins, tab. XCIII, which, representing the

same subjects and bearing the same legend, may be, according to him, reduced to one type. They are, however, of a decidedly different coinage :

No. 1. On obverse : a male head bearing a helmet, the crescent moon underneath, and the Greek letters SY on either side. On reverse : a soldier with shield and spear, and a star at one side ; and the legend GAYLITON. It was first published by Paruta.

Count Ciantar, in a letter to Canon Agius in 1746, believed the head on obverse to represent one of the Augustae, perhaps Julia. Evidently, Count Ciantar was mistaken in considering this Græco-Gaulitan coin as belonging to the Roman epoch.

No. 2. On obverse : same figure as in No. 1, with a different helmet, but the same crescent and without the two greek letters. On reverse : a soldier armed with a shield and darting his long spear, with a star on one side, and the legend GAYLITON.

No. 3. On obverse : same figure as in No. 1 and No. 2, with a crested helmet, different from the two preceding, having the crescent but not the two greek letters. On reverse : a soldier as in No. 2, without the star and with the legend GAYLITON. It was first published by Paruta.

209. The Græco-Maltese coins of doubtful character, are :

I. Third silver ; published by Goltzius, and after him by Hawercampius, Gessner, and Castelli, the last three, however, without having ever seen it. On obverse : a head of Hercules. On reverse : the figure of Hercules leaning on his club, and bearing the skin of the Nœmean Lion ; legend MELITAION.

II. Third brass ; published by Goltzius, and after him by Eckkel and Castelli. On obverse : a female head with diadem. On reverse : a horse and the inscription MELITAION.

III. Third brass ; published by D' Orville. On obverse : the prow of a ship on which is a male figure and a pillar. On reverse : two dolphins with the legend " MEL " between them.



IV. Third brass; published in the "Catalogue raisonné d'une collection de Medailles, 1774." On obverse: a winged female kneeling. On reverse: a shield (?) It is anepigraphic.

#### CLASS XVI.

##### **Punico-Maltese Numi.**

210. The learned Eckkel was the first to remark the non-existence of autonomous coins of Carthage, so far as we are aware, in any of the European collections, part I, v. IV, page 136. The extinction of the coins of Carthage must, certainly, have been included in the stern decree of the Roman Senate "Delenda est Carthago." It is the same as with the Corinthian medals and coins. The coins with Punic legend existing in several collections are, generally, considered as belonging to the towns where they were found, once subject to the Carthaginians; with the exception of those that were coined in Carthage, after it had been reduced to a Roman colony.

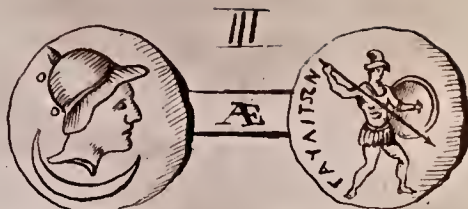
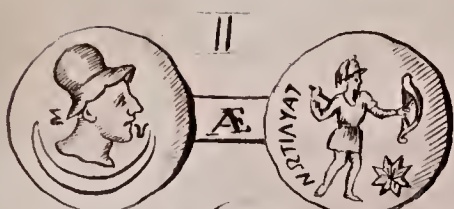
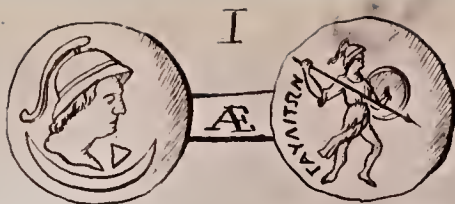
211. Those found in Malta, third gold and brass, are of two types: they are anepigraphic, but their types are identical with those found at Palermo with the Punic inscription *Karkath* (Carthage), and from their elegance are supposed to be the work of Greek artists.

I; XVI, Bres. On obverse: a horse's head. On reverse: a palm tree bearing fruit. Several Punico-Maltese coins of this type were recovered by Marquis Barbaro at the Marsa ruins in 1768.

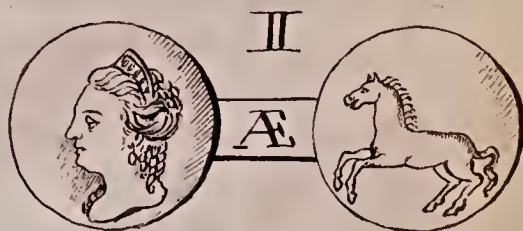
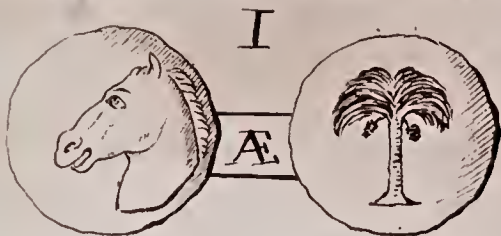
It was published by Paruta, Abela, Hawercampius, Castelli, Gessner, and Rasche, who consider the figure on the obverse to represent the horse's head, discovered by Dido in digging the foundation of Carthage on the site pointed out by Juno.

II; XVII, Bres. On obverse: a female head with a diadem, supposed to be Ceres by Gessner and Rasche, Dido by Abela, and Juno by Bres. On reverse: a horse without bridle, whence Virgil's "Numidæ infræni."

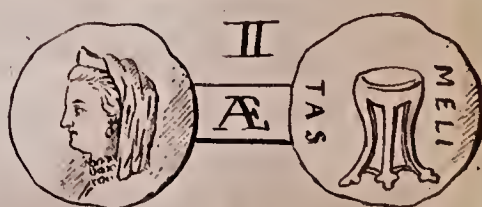




*Græco-Gaulitani Numi.*



*Punico-Maltese Numi.*



*Romano-Maltese Numi.*

*Fornosa Thot.*



## CLASS XVII.

**Romano - Maltese Numi.**

212. Only two types of Roman-Maltese coins have been found: they are third brass, and belong to the latter epoch of the Roman Republic.

After the foundation of the Roman Empire, imperial coins only appear to have been used in these islands.

I; XVIII, Bres. On obverse: a female head with diadem, the same type as on obverse of No. VI and VII græco-maltese coins, and the greek legend MELITAION. It is undoubtedly the head of Juno. On reverse: a curule chair, and the latin legend ARRVNTANVS. BALB. PRO. PR.

It was published by Pellerin, Burmann jun., Eckkel, Castelli, Combe, Rasche, Navarro, Barbaro, St. Priest.

II; XIX, Bres. On obverse: a female head with diadem and three neck-laces, probably the head of Juno like the preceding according to Paruta, Venuti, Gessner, Newman, Combe, Castelli and Rasche. On reverse: the tripod of Apollo and the legend MELITAS in roman letters, expressing the name of the island in Doric Greek according to Newman.

**Conclusion.**

213. In concluding this Report, I beg to observe that I am far from pretending to give an exhaustive account of the Phœnician and Roman Antiquities in these islands, in the short time at my disposal.

My endeavour has been to keep within the limits, prescribed in the despatch of the Earl of Kimberly, namely:

1st. To report on the present state of the Phœnician and Roman Monuments in these islands, with respect to the great importance of which frequent communications have reached the Colonial Office from some of the most eminent European Scholars. The Government of these islands, originally, bore the expense of clearing them from rubbish when they were discovered. But, I

regret to remark, that, as will be clearly seen from this Report, they have been since awfully neglected, and, from the want of an intelligent and responsible inspection, their decay is inevitable. Several of them with great care may be reinstated, as other Keltic monuments have been elsewhere; but it is in detecting and uncovering the numerous antiquities, both Phœnician and early Christian, still hidden by an upper soil of rubbish and underground, that great discretion, intelligence, and study, are required. A diligent and skilful search of the former may, very probably, make out a little Tyre or Sidon of the insular rock, on which one of the earliest Phœnician colonies settled; and a survey of subterranean Melita, besides great interest in an archæological point of view, would confirm the claim of these islands upon the primitive establishment and Venerable Antiquity of Christendom.

2nd. To collect minutely the particulars of other antiquities belonging to the same periods, the importance of which is, certainly, not inferior to that of those previously mentioned, in order to authenticate their discovery with quotations, the correctness of which I am able to vouch. Many of these valuable and interesting remains, as may be gathered from this report, have disappeared, owing mainly, in my opinion, to their having been scattered in various places instead of having them collected in one place under responsible charge. I cite the Phœnician paleography of these islands, as an instance of these irreparable losses. Of this class no less than 15 inscriptions are recorded, whilst Gesenius was able to reckon only three Athenienses, ten Carthaginienses, seven Numidicæ, three Tripolitanæ, and thirty three Citienses. And what has become of the many Roman and early Christian inscriptions recorded by Abela, Agius, Ciantar, Allegranza, Lupi, &c.? Syracuse, Catania, and even the Lipari islands, have been much better preservers of their Roman inscriptions.

214. Besides the Phœnician and Roman periods, there are others equally interesting for the history of these islands, as the



Byzantine, the Arabic comprehending a very rich Cufic paleography, the Norman, and that of the Knights of St. John.

In the year 399 A.D., these islands were severed from the Empire of the West, and in the division of the Roman Empire between the two sons of Theodosius they formed part of the Empire of the East under Arcadius. They remained under the Byzantine Emperors up to 870 A.D., being the 10th year of Basilius the Macedonian. The Arabs, under the Caliphs of the Abasside line, being already masters of the greater part of Spain, the southern part of France, Italy and Sicily, from the Karuan (Tunisia) invaded these islands according to the Codex Cantabrig, on the 20th of the month *Ausah* (August), in 870 A.D., and under the government of an Emir kept possession of them during 220 years. Several places in Malta still record their occupation, such as *Wied Omer*, *Wied-el-Buni*, *Wied Musa*, *Rdum Majesa*, *Gebe Omar*, *Shgharet Meuia*, *Ghar-Hasan*, *Bin-Ghisa* &c.; but their two main strongholds were in castel St. Angelo's promontory, and Medina, as they named the old greek and roman capital Melita, reduced by them to nearly its present limits. It is in Medina that most of the Cufic inscriptions were discovered, and that in 1698 a brass urn was found under the foundations of one of the houses of the Cathedral, in the square opposite to that Church, full of Arabic coins with Cufic legends, weighing 35 lb., 9 ounces gold, (*ex actis thesauris inventi in 1698*). Count Roger, the Norman, after delivering Sicily from the Arabs, came to the rescue of these islands in A.D. 1090. With Frederick II, son of Constance, grand daughter of Count Roger and wife of Henry VI, Emperor of Germany, begins the rule of the Swabian Sovereigns of the islands of Malta in 1194. After a short period of 67 years of German rule, and of 17 years under the Angevins, another Constance daughter of Tancredi, great grand-daughter of Roger I and wife of Peter III King of Aragon, begins the 264 years of Aragonese rule up to 1530, in which year Charles V made the islands of Malta over to the Military Order of the Knights of St. John. The duration of the Sovereignty of the order of St. John over these islands, from Gr. M. Villier de

l'Ile-Adam, on the 24th March 1530, to Gr. M. Hompesch, on the 12th June 1798, was of 268 years.

As recently as the 20th January of this year, in an Official Report on the Public Library I called the attention of Government on the desirability of merging gradually all scattered collections into one place, where the objects of antiquity belonging to these islands, each with a brief history attached to it, might be properly exhibited to the great interest of Natives and foreign visitors.

In that Report I have laid down some principles as a guide for the formation of a National Museum.









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